

THE GRAND
DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN
FRANCE,
SPAIN,
AND THE
EMPIRE:

With their severall
TITLES,
CLAIMES,
And
PRETENCES,
To each others Dominions,
Discussed and Stated.

By an Impartiall hand.

Very necessary for the cleare understanding of the present Commotions,
and the great affaires of EUROPE.

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and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Anchor in the
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William Gordon Ross,
Royal Engineers.



A
CHARACTER

OF
this Worke.

His is the Map of the present interesses of Princes, the quintessence of the History of five or six Ages, and of as many Kingdoms; the State-resolve of a deep and consummate Polititian, perfected by the perusing of many Volumes of Histories, and by the experience of many years,

I am inclined to believe that these were private Notes of some great Statesman, gathered for readiness in

his publique employments. And, that they were publisht without his name, makes me suspect that they came out without his leave. Howloever, this is a Treasure for all that desire to know the world, and penetrate into the inside of busineses; a help of memory for them that have read many Histories, and an ease of labour for such as want leisure to read them.

The



The true case of the businesses
which are at this time between the
two Houses, of *France* and *Austria*.

P R E F A C E.

THe two Houses of *France* and *Austria*, are the greatest and most important of Christendom, and such as draw to their motion all the other Crowns. Between these two Houses there hath been many Warres, Alterations, Treaties, Truces, and Peaces, since the rising of that of *Austria*; of which we may assigne the beginning at the marriage of *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederic 3.* with *Mary* the inheritrice of *Charles*, the last Duke of *Burdundy*, Prince of the seventeen united Provinces of *Netherland*, dead before *Nancy*, in the year 1477.

Maximilian was so meanly accommodated and his father Frederick 3. Emperor was so sparing of his charges, that this young Lady Mary his spouse was faine to send him money to beare up his traine

For the intellience of all their Divisions,

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Tru-

See Commentes l. 6. c. 3.

Preface.

Truces, and Alliances, I frame this discourse which shall consist of five Chapters.

In the first, The whole state of *Europe* shall be set down, the severall Princes thereof, their Religion, and what neighbourhood and dependance they have among themselves.

In the second, It shall be examined by what degrees the House of *Austria* is entred into the Empire, and into all those great estates which she now enjoyeth by her two Branches of *Spain* and *Germany*.

In the third, The differences between the two Crowns shall be discuss'd; what right the House of *France* hath in *Catalonia*, *Portugal*, *Navarra*, *Naples*, *Milan*, &c. Also what claim the House of *Austria* hath to *Burgandy*, *Brittain*, *Provence*, &c. These are those disputable Rights which have begot so many Divisions and Wars between the Princes, and an unreconcilable hatred between the Nations.

In the fourth Chapter, The businesses shall be presented, which past between the two Kingdoms, from the Treaty of *Arras*, in the year 1435. to the Treaty of *Vervins*, in 1598. Wars, Battels, Treaties, Truces, and Peaces.

The fifth, shall relate all that past from the Treaty of *Vervins*, till now.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The Princes that govern Europe

Paragraphe I.

Europe, the least of the three parts of the world known to the ancient Geographers, and the most Northerly, but the most populous, and that within which almost all Christendom is comprehended, hath on the South the Mediterranean Sea, and part of the Ocean, and begins at the Cap. St. Vincent, in the extremity of Portugal, in the Kingdom of Algarba, near the Strait of Gibraltar, where the Mediterranean Sea begins, which takes several names, as it toucheth upon severall Provinces, as Spain, France, Italy, Sicily, Greece. The Ile of Candie is the utmost of Europe that way, and it is divided from Africa by the Mediterranean Sea.

Eastward ascending to the North, Europe is bounded again by the Mediterranean Sea, under the names of the Aegean Sea, called now Archipelago, Hellespont now Burdanelles, or the Strait of Gallipoli, Propontis now Mar de Marimora, Bosphorus, Thracian now the Strait of Constantinople, Pontus Euxinus now the Black Sea, or Mar major. Higher it is bounded by Megrides Paludes, and the River Tanais, now

Don, remounting to its spring. And thenceforward a line is imagined drawne to the North, butting either at the *Golph of St. Nicholas*, or some such other place thereabout, in the great Duke of *Moscovia's* Country: for that nothern Tract unknown to ancient Geographers is yet so little knowne, that the limits of *Europe* that way, could never be well assigned.

On all the East-side, *Europe* neighboureth upon the great *Asia*, and is Occidentall to it.

On the North-side, ancient Geograhpers have set no limits to *Europe*, but have comprehended these Nothern extremities either under the name of *Hyperborean hills*, although there be no hills in that Tract; or under the name of *Mare Glaciale* or the frozen Sea, which we may take from the *Golph of St. Nicholas*; or the mouth of the River *Oby*, unto the Sea which is about *Norway* and *Finmarch*, and so towards the Isles of *Freezland* and *Island*. On that side, *Europe* butts upon the Pole, and is not near any considerable Lands, some few Islands onely, ill inhabited, as *Nova Zembla*, and *Nienland*.

On the West-side, *Europe* hath the great Ocean, from the Isles of *Freezland* and *Island*, to the *Cap of St. Vincent*, which is the extremity of *Portugal*. And that Ocean takes divers

vers names according to the divers Countries that it toucheth; as the *Britannique Islands, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Zealand, Flanders*, the Strait of Calais, the coasts of *Normandy, Brittain, Poitou, Saintonge, Guienne*, the golph of *Bayonne*, the coasts of *Biscay, Galicia, Portugal, Algerke*, to the Cap *St. Vincent*.

These are the limits, and as it were the four walls which inclose all that is comprehend- ed under the name of *Europe*. The length whereof may be taken from the Cap *St. Vincent*, to the golph *S. Nicholas*, or the mouth of the River *Oby*, which is two thousand French common leagues, or as far north-ward as one will. The breadth, from *Morea*, towards the Isle *Cythera*, to the North towards *Finnmarch* and *Lapland*, which is twelve of fifteen hundred leagues.

A more exact description of the Topogra- phy of each Country is not for this place. Here only we will enumerate the States, con- tained within that extent, and that but in the great; as much as is necessary to understand that which belongs to the two Houses of *France and Austria*, the most considerable of *Europe*, of Christendom at least.

We shall be begin that enumeration by the West, and from thence passing to the East, we shall turn to the North, and there end.

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Paragraphe II.

The first Prince on the West of Europe, is the King of Spain, who beares the name of the House of Austria, besides that which he hath in Africa, and in the East and West Indies. Besides a number infinite of Ilands, Caps, & Havens, from the Isles Azores, to the Cap of good hope, and from that Cap to the extremity of the East, towards the Molukes and Philippine Ilands.

1. That which he holds in Europe, is comprehended in that Peninsula enclosed within the Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Pyrenean hills under several names of Kingdomes, as we shall say in the following Chapter. And these distinguiht into three general Jurisdictions, of Castilia, Arragon, and Portugal. It is true that since the late Wars, the revolts of Portugal and Catalonia, have clipt so much of his Domtnions, and the French have taken from him the County of Rousillon.

2. Upon the coasts of Spain, he possesseth the two Baleares, Mallorca, and Minorca, and the two Ilands in old time called Ophiusa, now Ivica and Fromentera.

3. In Italy, he hath all the Kingdom of Naples, which is almost the half of it; and the most Easterly part from Cajeta or Fondi, to the golph of Tarento, and the Strait of Messina.

4. In the same *Italy*, he hath the *Dutchy* of *Milan*, with the territories of *Parva*, *Tortona*, *Cremona*, &c.

5. Upon the coasts of the *Tuscan Sea*, he hath *Final*, *Piombino*, *Porto Hercule*, and *Orbistello*. Of late, the Prince of *Monaco* hath shaken off his yolk. In *Toscana*, the great *Duke of Florence* doth him homage for the *Common-wealth* of *Sienna*, and oweth him service.

6. In that Sea about *Italy*, he hath the *Isles* of *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, and is sovereign of the *Isle* of *Malta* (which the old Geographers reckon among the *African* Ilands). The great *Master* of that Iland, oweth him some homage for it.

7. In the *Celtique Gaule* he hath the *Franche County*, or the *County* of *Burgundy*, and in the *Dutchy* of *Burgundy*, he hath the *County* of *Charrolois*.

8. In the *Belgique Gaule*, he hath possess'd, till the end of the last age, all that was comprehended under the name of the seventeen *Provinces*. He keeps to this day the *Dutchies* of *Luxemburg* & *Limburg*, the *Dutchy* of *Brabant*, but pared about by the losse of *Mae-stricht*, the *Bose Breda* and *Bergupzom*; part of the *Dutchy* of *Guelders*, the *Counties* of *Namur*, *Hainant*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, all maimed with the losse of some limbs, by our late Wars.

Wars. Also the *Marquisat of the holy Empire*, which is *Antwerp*, and the Principality of *Mechlen*: The remnant of these seventeen Provinces, is in the hand of the States of the united Provinces, besides that which the King of *France* hath taken.

In all that large extent of Lands, the *Spaniard* suffereth the exercise of no Religion but the Roman. Though he go for a great sovereign, yet many of his Lands depend from other Princes. The See of *Rome* hath great pretences upon the sovereignty of *Arragon*: Heacknowledgerh without contradiction, the sovereignty of the Church over his Kingdom of *Naples*: Yet it is pretended that he oweth the same homage for *Sicily*. For the Dutchy of *Milan*, and other Lands, which he holds in *Italy*, he must acknowledge the *Empire*, from which he hath received the investiture of the same. *Franche County*, is an imperiall fee; as also the Provinces of *Netherland* not depending of *France*, did owe homage to the *Empire*: And in the year 1608. when the truce was made between *Spain* and *Holland*; these two States disputing of their sovereignty in the first *Article*, the Emperour *Rodolphus* framed an opposition against that *Article*, and claimed the sovereignty as belonging to the *Empire*, but the Treaty past without any reflection to that claim. Finally, although
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the *Spaniard* acknowledge our Kings no more, neither for *Flanders* nor for *Artois*, it is not well resolved yet, by what right he hath shaken off the yolk; and the *French* pretend that the Treaties of *Madrid*, *Cambray*, and *Cressy* in *Valois*, which contain that cession, have not been authorized by the generall States of *France*.

The King of Spain being possessor of such a great extent of Lands, is a neighbor to most of the Christian Princes, as will be shewed more at large in the second Chapter, and hath alwaies some difference with them. The now King of *Spain*, is *Phillip* the IV. of the Roman Religion.

Paragraphe III.

Here we will look upon the King of *France*, whose state is comprehended in the old *Gally*, *Narbonensis*, *Aquitanica*, *Celtica*, and *Belgica*; yet doth he not possess them all: the whole *Narbonensis* belongs to him, excepting *Avignon*, *Nice*, *Savoy*, *Geneva*, and *Orenge*. The whole *Aquitanica* is his, since the small principality of *Bearn* (which with small reason hath been pretended to be soveraign in her Rights and Customs) hath been united to the Crown, and began to have the same Prince, by the coming of *Henry* the fourth to the Crown. The whole *Celtica* belongs likewise to the King of *France*, excepting onely the

the *Franch County*, and the imperial Town of *Besancon*.

Of the *Belgica*, the King of *France* hath the least part, *The Ile of France*, *Pays de Caux*, *Bou-lonnois*, *Picardi*, *Beau-voisis*, *Champagne*, *Brie*; And by good or bad title, the Towns of *Mets*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*; of which in the first invasion, he declared himselfe Protector onely. By the late Wars, he hath made himself Master of most part of *Lorraine*, of the Town of *Brisach*, and of other Towns of *Alsatia*, beyond the *Rhine*.

The subjects of the King of *France*, are commonly Roman Catholiques, yet Protestants are tolerated in the State.

The King of *France* is neighbouring upon *Spain*, by the Pyrenean hills. On that side the *French* and the *Spaniards* have not much troubled one another but of late yeares, in which the *French* have unfortunately attempted *Spain* about *Fontarabie*; but fortunately about *Rousillon* and *Catalonia*. But about the *Low Countries*, and *Franche County*, which lie open to both the Nations, there hath been much stir and action.

On the side of *Provence* and *Daulphine*, the Duke of *Savoy* is neighbour to *France*; for *Savoy* and *Piemont* joyn to the foresaid Provinces. The County of *Avignon* belonging to the *Pope*, is inclosed within *Provence*. By
Daul-

Daulphine, the French touch the Common-wealth of *Geneva*. By the Country of *Bresse*, and the *Bailliages* of *Gez* and *Verromoy*, they enter within *Switzerland*, into the Canton of *Berne*. By *Champagne* they have the Duke of *Lorraine* for their neighbour; but now they are possess of his Country. So all their neighbours are weak, the King of *Spain* excepted. The present King of *France*, is *Lewis* the XIV. of the Roman profession.

Paragraphe IV.

In this Paragraphe we will set downe all the Princes contained within the ancient *Gaules*, besides the King of *France*.

1. In *Gallia Narbonensis*, the Duke of *Savoy* holds the Dutchie of *Savoy*, the Countries of *Chablais* and *Tarantaise*, and the Towne of *Chambery*; and upon the Sea coast neare the River of *Var*, the Town and County of *Nice*, which was sometimes a member of *Provence*, and being upon the River of *Var*, it is partly in *France*, partly in *Italy*.

2. The Pope holds the County of *Venaissyn* or *Avignon*, an ancient member of *Provence*, with the four Bishopricks belonging to it, *Avignon*, *Carpentras*, *Carvaillon*, and *Vezeu*. There also is *Orenge*, belonging to the House of *Nassau*.

3. The City of *Geneva* with her Territory,
made

made her selfe a soveraign Common-wealth about the year 1535. when the Duke of Savoy, the Bishop of Geneva, and the City being in contention about their right, the Citizens changed Religion, forced the Bishop to fly, and shut their Gates against the Duke of Savoy. But indeed that Towne, and all the other States, were pieces depending from the Empire. But the Emperours power being by succession of time confined within Germany onely, retain almost nothing out of it, but the shade of their ancient authority.

4. In the *Celtique Gaule*, *Franch County* belongs to the King of Spain,

5. The City of *Besancon*, inclosed within *Franch County*, is an imperial City.

6. Then many little soveraign Princes; the chiefe of them, the *thirteen Cantons of the Suitzers*, inclosed within the Alpes, between *Franch County* and the *Rhine*. Of them, four are Protestants; *Berne* (which alone is almost as large as all the others) *Basel*, *Zurick*, and *Schaffouse*, which is a Town beyond the *Rhine*. Seven *Catholique* (as they style themselves) two greater, *Friburg* and *Soleurre*, and the five little Cantons, *Uri*, *Switz*, *Underwall*, *Lucerne*; and *Zough*, and two halfe Catholick, half Protestants, *Glaris* and *Appenzel*. All these Common-wealths making one body of State, have their Associates; the *Abbot of Saint Gall*,

Gall, the commonalties of *Valley*, and the *Bishop of Sion*, with some other Towns, and beyond the *Rhine*, the three Leagues of the *Grisons*.

7. To these adde many pieces about the *Rhine*, which are held to be parts of *Germany*, as the County of *Montbeliard*, which the Kings of *France* have bought of late years of the Dukes of *Wirtinberg*. *Alsatia* beyond the *Rhine*, which did belong to the House of *Austria*, and consisteth of imperial Towns, and other Towns which the King of *France* now holds. Then the *Palatinate* on this side of the *Rhine*, which is now partly in the hands of the *Spaniards*, partly in that of the King of *France* and the Protestants.

8. The Dutchy of *Lorrain*, which before acknowledged the Duke, is now almost altogether in the King of *Frances* his hands.

9. The principality of *Liege*, is depending from the Bishoprick thereof.

10. The Dutchy of *Juliers*, and great part of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, now divided between the Dukes of *Newburg*, and the Marquess of *Brandenburg*.

11. The Arch-bishoprick of *Treues* on both sides of the River of *Mosella*.

12. The seventeen Provinces of *Netherland*, four of which are Dutchies, *Brabant*, *Luxembourg*, *Limbourg*, and *Guelderland*. They be-

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long

long to the *Spaniard*, part of *Guelderland* excepted, and some Towns of *Brabant*; the *Marquisat of the holy Empire*, which is the Town of *Antwerp*. Seven Counties, *Namur*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Flanders*. These four are in the hands of the *Spaniard*, excepting that which the French hold in *Artois* and *Hainault*; and the *Auce* and other places which the *Hollanders* hold in *Flanders*. The three other Counties are, *Zeland*, *Holland*, and *Zutphen*. There are five Lordships more, *Mecklen* which the *Spaniard* holds, and *Utrecht*, *Overissell*, *West-Friesland*, and *Groning*, which are possess'd by the *Hollanders*. All these are commonly called the seventeen Provinces of *Netherlands*, and the *Belgique Gaule*, although some of them be out of the extent of *Gaule*, and beyond the *Rhine*, as *Overissell*, *Friesland*, *Groning*, and part of *Guelderland*. All these estates contained within the extent of *Gaule*, are of no great importance, neither are they able to resist the *French*, excepting those that are in the hand of the *Spaniard*, or protected by the Empire. To these, *Cambray* must be added, an Imperial and Archi-episcopal Town held by the *Spaniard*.

Paragraphe V.

Here let us enumerate all the Princes contained in that great *Peninsula* called *Italy*, between

tween the golph of Venice, the coasts of Genoa, Toscana, Naples, the golph of Tarento, the Ionique Sea, and the Alpes. Within that extent there are many Princes; the most considerable are six.

1. The King of Spain holds the Kingdome of Naples, the Dutchy of Milan, with some places upon the Sea coast, and the soveraignty of the Town of Siena. * vid. sup. pag. ii. lins.

2. The Pope with the Church of Rome, besides the soveraignty over Naples and Parma, holds in proper dominion above three hundred miles in length, and a hundred in breadth, beginning from Caieta to Ferrara, and to the Country of the Venetians. He possesseth the whole Latium, commonly call'd *Campagna di Roma*, where the City of Rome stands, part of Toscana, with the Territory of St Peter, the Towns of Perousa, Viterbo, Orvietta, the Dutchy of Spoleto, where *Marca d'Ancona* is seated; the Dutchy of Urbin, lately devolved to the See of Rome, by the extinction of the family of the Roveros which held it in fee; the Towns of Bologna and Ravenna, the Dutchy of Ferrara, returned to the Church under Pope Clement the VIII. an. 1598. by the extinction of the lawfull males of the family of Est. Also in the Kingdom of Naples, the Dutchy and Towne of Benevent. In these Countries there is above fifty Bishopricks.

and above a million and a halfe of inhabitants.

3. The Common-wealth of *Venice* possesseth (besides the city of *Venice* seated within the Marshes of the Mediterranean Sea) within the continent of *Italy*, *Histria*, a *Peninsula*; the Countries of *Friuli*, called in old time *Forum Julii*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Brixia*, *Bergamo*; and out of *Italy* from *Histria*, to the Common-wealth of *Ragoufa*, almost all that is on that coast of the golph of *Venice*, where the Towns of *Zara*, *Sebennico*, *Spalato*, *Cataro*. And every were *Venice* bordereth upon the House of *Austria*, and shareth with it the Countries of *Dalmatia* and *Slavonia*. In the Mediterranean sea, *Venice* holds the Iles of *Corfou*, *Zante*, *Cephalenia*, *Cerigo*, and the great Iland of *Candy*, now disputed to them by the *Turk*, and even before the *Turks* invasion, *Candy* called it self a sovereign Common-wealth, acknowledging for their head *Francisco Erizzo*, of an ancient family. In the year 1470. one of his Ancestors being Governour of the Isle of *Negrepont*, was taken by the *Turks*, and sawed in two, contrary to the faith given to him.

8. The great Duke of *Toscana* is possesseth with the estate of three ancient Commonwealths, *Pisa*, *Florence*, and *Siena*; his Territories run along the coasts of the *Toscan* Sea, where he hath

hath also the Isle of *Elva*. The now Duke is *Ferdinand II*.

9. The Common-wealth of *Genoa*, possesseth almost all that which is comprehended under the name of *Riviera di Genoa*, and *Liguria*. They hold also the Island of *Corfica*.

6. The Prince of *Piemont* is the same as the Duke of *Savoy*; He holds in *Italy*, *Valdosta*, *Vercellois*, *Piemont*, the Marquisat of *Salluces*. The now Duke is *Charles Emanuel*.

Besides these six considerable Princes, there are some of a lower forme.

The Duke of *Mantua*, whose Country is compassed by the *Venetians* on the one side, and the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the River of *Po* on the other.

The Duke of *Modena* and *Rhegio*, which is an imperial Fee, held by the remnants of the family of *Est* or *Atestini*.

The Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, who besides that Fee of which he was invested by Pope *Paul* the III. hath, or claimeth as a proper inheritance of the house *Farnesi*, the Dutchy of *Castro* in *Toscana* near *Rome*, out of which he was lately expelled by the Pope.

The County of *Mirandola*, held by the family of *Pici*.

The Dutchy of *Montferrat*, sometimes the patrimony of the house of the *Palcalogi*, is at this time in the hands of the Duke of *Mantua*.

two. There stands *Casal of St. Vaast*, the so much disputed place.

The small Common-wealth of *Luca* in *Toscana*, between the two States of *Florence* and *Genoa*.

Besides these, two estates are attributed to *Italy*, though far from it; the one is the Common-wealth of *Ragoufa* in *Slavonia*, upon the *Golph*, in old time called *Epidaurus*. It is sovereign, yet payeth to the Turk her next neighbour, a tribute of fifteen thousand *Scquins* yearly.

The other Estate is *Malta*, with the next Iland *Goza*, possist by the Religion of *Saint John of Jerusalem*. But that Prince hath but the shade of a Sovereigne, being as for his person a Religious depending of the Pope, and punishable by the Pope, and the Iland of *Malta*, acknowledging the King of *Spain* as a dependance of *Sicily*.

In all these States of *Italy*, there is no exercise of any Religion but the Roman.

Although all these Princes will be acknowledged Sovereign, there is none properly so but the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Common-wealth of *Genoa*. All the others are either Imperial Lands, as *Mantua*, *Milan*, *Montferrat*, *Piemont*, *Modena*, *Mirandula*, *Florence*, or depend of the Pope, as *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Parma*, and *Placencia*.

Paragraphe VI.

In the end of the Golph of *Venice* Eastward, lyeth *Greece*, posselt by the *Turk*, who holds all that was comprehended in the names of *Peloponnesus*, *Achaia*, *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, with the great City of *Constantinople*. Nearer to the River of *Danubius*, and above the mountaines of *Thracia*, he hold *Bulgaria* and *Serbia*, which were the ancient *Misia*, *Bossera*, great part of *Hungary*, as farre as *Gran*, or *Strigonium*, near the Towne of *Commorra*, and part of *Slavonia* and *Dalmatia*. By those more Occidentall Countries, he toucheth the Lands of the *Venetians*, and the the House of *Austria*. Beyond *Danubius*, he is acknowledged by the three *Vaiwodes*, or *Princes* of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*.

The *Turk* holds also all the Ilands of the Mediterranean Sea, from *Candia* to *Pontus Euxinus*. Beyond the mouth of *Danubius*, and the coast of *Pont Euxin*, he holds as farre as the River *Tyrus* or *Niestra*; And higher in *Taurica Chersonesus*, the Town of *Casa*, in old time *Theodosia*. His Dominion on that side butts upon the River *Tanaïs*, where his Frontier is the Town of *Affou*, taken about ten years ago upon the *Muscovite*. In all that Tract, though the *Turk* and the *Mahometan Religion* govern, most part of his

People profess the Religion of Christ under the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. Yet there are many of the Roman Religion in *Hungary*, *Bosnia*, and *Serlia*. *Transylvania* is Protestant.

Paragraphe VII.

Above *Pont Euxin* towards *Meotides Paludes*, there is a great extent of Countries bordering upon *Podolia* and *Muscovia*. And within that Sea is that *Peninsula*, sometimes called *Taurica Chersonesus*, now *Precops*. All that Tract is called *Tartaria Precopensis*, or the *Crim Tartar*; or about four hundred years ago, a Herd, for Army of *Tartars*, invaded that Country. It is now one of the considerable States of Europe, possess'd by a Mahumetan Prince, named *Cantemiro*. It bordereth upon the *Turks* towards *Pont Euxin*, and is in league with them. Westward it joyns with *Poland*, Northwards with *Muscovia*, and hath War almost continually with these two Nations.

Paragraphe VIII.

Beyond the dominions of *Poland*, there is a River called *Danambra*, in old time *Borysthenes*, which severeth *Sarmatia*, (now called *Poland*) from the old *Scythia Europea*, which comprehends that large tract of Land between *Borysthenes* and *Tanais*, and Northward

ward unto the frozen Sea. This is that great Estate of *Muscovia*, denominated from the Capitall City *Mosko*; The Prince, the great Duke of *Moscovia*, besides that part of *Europe*, stretcheth his Dominion very far into great *Asia*. He that reigned when the Author writ this Book, which was in the year 1644. was *Michael Fedorowitz*, who was elected in the year 1612. in the confusion of Civil Wars after the extinction of the antient Royall Family. That People is Christian, but of the rudest sort, acknowledging the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. Westward they join with *Poland*, Southward with the *Crim Tartar*, and with each of them have alwaies some war.

Paragraphe IX.

All the Country from the River of *Odera*, in *Germanie*, or at least from the River of *Vistula*, or *Weissell*, as far as *Borysthenes*, and Northward as far as the point of the *Baltique Sea* above *Livonia*; All that Country, I say, called antiently *Sarmatia*, containeth now the Kingdom of *Poland*, consisting of the greater and lesser *Poland*; *Russia alba*, the Country of the *Cossacks*; *Podolia*, and other Provinces with the great Dutchy of *Lituania* near *Borysthenes*. That State of *Poland*, whose capital City is *Cracovia*, joyneth Southward with the

the Lands of the *Empire*, and *Hungary* so much as belongs to the House of *Austria*, and with *Transylvania* and *Moldavia*; Eastward it joines with the *Tartar* and *Moscovite*. The Court of *Poland* hath been of the Roman Religion hitherto: What it will be hereafter the successe of the present Warrs will shew. That State tolerates all sorts of Religions. *Livonia* or *Liefland* in the Baltick Sea is accounted as an appurtenance of *Poland*. Yet, because three Estates meet there, *Poland* on the South, *Muscovia* on the East, and North, and *Sweden* on the West; it is alwaies disputed between these three Crowns, and is the occasion of great Warrs, which were appeased in some part by the peace between *Poland* and *Sweden*, An. 1635. but newly revived.

Paragraphe X.

By an arm of the great Ocean, that Mediterranean Sea of the North is formed, which is called the *Baltique* Sea: There the Dominions of *Sweden* and *Denmark* are seated, two considerable States.

The Kingdom of *Sweden* comprehends great part of the antient *Gothia*, the Town and Dutchy of *Stockholm*, the great Dutchy of *Finland*, and Northward *Bornia*, *Serifinia*, and other unknown Countries. The present King is *Carolus Gustavus*, by the cession of his
Cölen-

Cosen-German, *Christina* Daughter to the famous *Gustavus Adolphus*. The whole Kingdom of *Sweden* is *Lutheran*: Yet in the North, there is some remnant of the ancient Idolatry of Pagans.

The other State is that of *Denmark*, composed of the *Hanse Teutonique*, called anciently *Cimbria-Chersonesus*, which is a corner of great *Germany*, containing the Dutchy of *Holstein*, *Jutland*, and *Schleswick*. A second part of that Estate lyeth in *Ilands*, the chiefe of them *Zeland*, where *Coppenhagen* is seated, the Capitall City of the Kingdom. The third part is in the Peninsula of the *Baltique Sea*, and herein the Kingdom of *Norway* and *Finmarch*. To that State also belong the *Ilands* of *Friessland* and *Istland*, far in the North. They are all *Lutherans*. The strength and wealth of that Kingdom, lieth in the passage of the *Sund*, which makes it considerable to all that traffick to or from the *Baltique Sea*.

Paragraphe. XI.

From thence sailing Westward, one comes to the great *Brittanique Ilands*, of which we that inhabit them, know more then this Author; and therefore leave that little which he saith of them.

Paragraphe XII.

Being now come to the West, we meet with the most considerable piece of *Europe*, which is the Empire of *Germany*. The *Empire* begun by *Julius Caesar*, but founded by *Augustus*, possess all the known Countries of the West. But was greatly diminished about the year of our Lord 400. for then by the incursions of the *Goths*, *Ostrogoths*, *Alans*, *Huns*, *Herules*, *Vandales*, *Frankes*, and others; many States were founded. And finally, the Empire ceased in the West, altogether in the year 445. by the death of *Augustulus*, and the whole Empire of the West was divided into many States.

In the year 800. the *Empire of the West* begun afresh in the person of *Charlemagne*, who under that name, possess all the *Gaules*, part of *Spain*, almost all *Italie*, the great *Germanie*, *Hungary*, *Slavonia*, part of *Poland* and *Denmark*, and other Northern Countries. But his posterity having degenerated, that Empire went from his Family about the year 912. and after a long dispute about it, between the *Italian* and *German* Princes, *Otho* Duke of *Saxony* made himself Master of it: And from that time, that which remains of the Empire, hath continued in the hands of *German* Princes.

That

That which is called the *Empire* at this day, hath more shadow then substance. I call a shadow all the pretences of the Emperour out of *Germanie*, which are worn out with age and lost, or remain with small vigour, as the pretences of Sovereignty over the Princes of *Italy* and the *Low-Countries*, *Savoy*, *Franche County*, *Besançon* and the like. In *Germany* he hath some reall and effective power. *Germany* at this time comprehends all that Country between the border of *Hungary* and *Poland* on the East, the *Baltique Sea* and *Denmark* on the North, the *Germanique Sea* and *France* on the West, and the River of *Rhine*. and the *Alpes* on the South. Neither is the Emperour absolute every where, or in the most part of that large space. For it is divided into ten *Circles*, or great *Provinces*, which have a proper right to assemble themselves to look to their own busineses, and send *Deputies* to the generall *Diets* of the *Empire*. And in every one of these *Circles*, there be many free *Cities*, and many *Secular* and *Ecclesiasticall* *Princes*.

The chief are the *seven Electours*, three *Ecclesiasticall*, the *Archbishops* of *Mentz*, *Collen*, and *Treues*; four *secular*, the *Count Palatine*, the *King of Bohemia*, the *Duke of Saxony*, and the *Marquesse of Brandenburg*. And next to these the *Duke of Battieres*, the *Duke of Wirtenberg*,

Wirttemberg, Luneburg, Mechelburg, Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse, and many others. But above all these houses, that of Austria is considerable, of which we must speak in the next Chapter; for, besides the title of Emperour by election, now continued in their family for many descents; they possesse their antient Patrimony, Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carnia, Tirolis, Elzas. They hold also Bohemia and that little part of Hungary, which remains unto the Christians. All Germany is divided between Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists. These three and the Mahumetan, and the Greek Religion, are the principall Religions known in Europe.

CHAP. II.

By what degrees the house of Austria is come to those great Estates which it possesseth.

IT is certain, that among the Christian Princes, the two most considerable Families are those of *France* and *Austria*. And although it be known that the house of *France* hath all the Prerogatives of Antiquity, Nobility, and Glory above the other; yet that of
Austria

Austria is more powerfull for extent of Lands, and multitude of People; and is invested with a more eminent quality, which is the Empire. But, because they hold it only by Election, they have that preheminance but for a time; so that the Family of *Austria* from a Sovereign, may become a Subject; which can never happen to the Sovereignes by succession, but by the ruine of the State.

Now, because these two Families draw to their motion, the most part of our Christian Western world, and that since one hundred and fifty years the house of *Austria* hath taken a stupendious growth: It will be to good purpose to examine in this Chapter her Birth, Progress, and Greatness. For we shall not need to speak of the greatness of *France*, which is a grounded Monarchie of twelve hundred years standing. But it is but of late that the house of *Austria* dareth claim equality with the house of *France*.

Paragraphe I.

Yet so much we will say of the house of *France*.

1. It is certain that this Kingdome was erected out of the ruines of the Roman Empire, in the year 419. *Pharamond* was elected King by the *Frankes*, beyond the *Rhine*, in the Coun-

Country of *Sicambria*, which is *Guelderland*, *Weyche*, *Freeland*, and other Countries thereabout. But neither he, nor his Son *Clo-*
dion the *Chevelu*, past ever into *France* for any thing that we read; but sent forth their Armies to conquer it. *Merovee* the third King, was the first that came to *Paris* and took it, and settled himself with the *Frankes* in *Gauls*. From him was the first race of French Kings denominated, and called the race of the *Merovingians*.

2. *Clouis* the fifth King, was converted to the Christian faith in the year of Christ 500. and brought the French State to great Splendour, by the expulsion of the reliques of the Romans, near *Soissons*, *Laon*, and *Reims*, by the Conquest of *Gaule*, *Aquitannique*, and by the defeat of *Alaric*, and the Kingdome of the *Goths*. The Sons of that *Clouis* about the year 527. conquered the state of the *Burgundians*, or *Bourguignons*: So that race of the *Merovingians*, about the year of 530. was possess of all the *Gaules*, yet divided into *Tetrarchies* by the children of *Clouis*, and again by their descent.

3 That race with the *Gauls* held great part of *Germany*, and having done great services to the Church, and protected desolate Popes, got from them the name of *most Christians*, & *eldest Sons of the Church*. When that title was given them,

or Hairy: *Gravus*
 his were his
 hair long, and
 forbid his sub-
 jects to do so.
 In Latin, *Clo-*
dion vel *Clodius*
Criminus, vel
Comatus.

them, we cannot precisely tell; yet Saint Gregory who lived in the year 600. saith, that the King of *France* is as eminent above other Kings, as every King is above his Subjects.

4 That first race kept long the fierceness of German-barbarousness, and about the year 650. after the death of *Dagobert*, they degenerated to idleness, and so continued for a hundred years, which gave occasion to the *Mayres of the Palace*, to incroach upon the Sovereign Authority. Among whom *Charles Martel* was most eminent, who having defeated the *Sarrasins* near *Tours*, and killed three hundred threescore and six thousand men, and relieved the *Pope* against the *Lombards*, raised much the honour of *France* and his own, but to the destruction of the first Royal line, which ended in the degradation of the unfortunate *Chilperic*, in the year 752. having subsisted 333 years.

Pope Zachary allowed this degradation, and set up *King Pipin* thereby obliging him and his successors to his Ser.

5. The second race much more illustrious than the first, began in the person of *Pipin*, Son to that *Charles Martel*. A valorous & fortunate Prince, devoutly addicted to the Roman See. He received *Pope Stephen* the first into *France*, and put down *Adolphus King of the Lombards*, who persecuted the *Pope*. But his Son *Charlemagne* raised the State of *France* more than any. For he conquered great part of *Italie* up-

on the *Lombards*, and quite destroyed them *An. 774.* overcame the *Saxons*, and other Nations of *Germany*, conquered part of *Spain* upon the *Saracens*, and made himselfe master of most part of the old Empire of the West, and so was crowned *Emperour* of the West, *An. 800.* And three years after, limits were set in *Italy*, between the two Empires of East and West; *Nicephorus* being then *Emperour* of the East. And the bounds were the Rivers of *Liris* now *Garigliano*, and *Aufidus* now *Lofanto*, both in the Kingdome of *Naples*. So that excepting the farthest part of *Italy*, part of *Spain*, and the *Britannique* Ilands, divided between many petty Kings, he was possessor of the whole Empire of the West.

6. These first Kings were very liberall to the See of *Rome*. *Pepin*, and *Charlemagne*, gave them the *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*, and other Lands which the Popes pretended to have been taken away from them by the *Lombards*. *Lewis the Meek*, who succeeded his Father *Charlemagne*, confirmed and amplified that gift *An. 817.* the Charter whereof *Baronius* hath published, taken from the *Vatican*, as he affirmeth. *Lewis the Meek* dying *An. 840.* left the State of *France* in a great height, possessor of the *Gaules*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and part of *Spain*. All other Princes compared to the *French* Kings, were mean fellowes.

7. *Lewis the Meek* left three Sons, *Lothaire* and *Lewis* by his first wife, and *Charles the Bald* from *Judith* his second wife. These three Brothers for three years contended about their partage, the law of the eldest being not then in use among them, till that cruel battle of *Fontenay* near *Auxerre* was fought, where above a hundred thousand men were slain, and especially much Nobility and Gentry whereby the State was weakned, and the Brothers were forced to come to an arbitrement; That *Lothary* the eldest, should have all the Lands beyond the Rivers of *Scaldis* and *Mosa*, as far as the *Rhine*, namely the Provinces of the *Low Countries*, *Liege*, *Treues*, *Juliers*, *Luxemburg*, *Lorrain*, *Alsacia*, and others. Also that which lyeth beyond *Saone* and *Rhosne*, namely, *Franch County*, *Savoy*, *Daulphine*, *Provence*. Also as much of *Italy* as was left to the Emperour of the West, by the partage with the Emperour of the East. This was the share of *Lothary* the eldest, who took with it the Title of Emperour. *Lewis*, the second Brother, had all that their Father held in *Germany*, and there was called *Germanicus*. To the third, *Charles the Bald*, *France* was left, much about as it is at this day, inclosed within the narrow Seas of *England*, *Scaldis*, *Mosa*, *Saone*, *Rhosne*, the coasts of *Languedoc*, and the *Pyrenees*. That partage of the three

Sons of *Lewis the Meek*, *An. 843.* is the most remarkable date of the *French History*. Then was that great Monarchy cut in shreds, and the greatness of *France* humbled, the name of which remained onely to the proportion of a third part. And from that time, the *French State* thus clipt hath remained with little alteration. Onely we have lost *Flanders* and *Artois*, and many times the borders of the Kingdome have been changed towards *Mosa* and *Scaldis*. But in recompence we have got *Daulphine* and *Provence*, beyond the ancient bounds.

8. As by this partage the State of *France* remained very much diminisht, so the *French Kings* lost the name of *Emperours*, which nevertheless *Charles the Bald* took since. But his Descent being fallen to idlenesse as the first Race; the State of *France* thus shortned, lingered among many civill broyles and misfortunes, till the year 987. when that race ended, having subsisted about 235 yeares.

9 *Hugh Capet*, head of the third Race, was descended as it is thought, from an ancient House of *Saxony* planted in *France*, by *Wittikind* the *Saxon* of the race of that other *Wittikind*, a *Saxon Prince* who so long made head against *Charlemagne*. This third race began to raigne in the year 987. It is that which this day subsisteth, and besides her ancient

No-

Nobility before she was Sovereign, hath now held the sovereignty above 660 yeares, and besides innumerable victories obtained over her neighbours, made great Wars against the Infidels in the East, and in *Spain*, and against Heretiques in all the Provinces of Europe, keeping still a great respect to the See of *Rome*. All these wayes she hath maintained her selfe in the prerogative of precedence and glory above all others. And although he that beares now the quality of *Emperour*, go before the French Kings, because he retaines the name and place of those great Monarchs of all the West, yet he hath neither right nor pretence over the Kings of *France*; yea, *Mr. de Breves*, in the Appendix of the Negotiation of the *East*, added to the History of his voyage, saith, That in *Henry* the 4ths time, he had the precedence before the Ambassadors of the Emperour *Rudolphus*, at the *Porta* of the great *Turk*, who judged that the precedences of Christian Princes, in relation to the Church of *Rome*, and the Popes, were of no consideration at his *Porta*, where the strongest and the most couragious finds most favour. Also whereas the King of *France* was then in War with the House of *Austria*, he would not give his enemy any advantage over him. Neither do the *Turks* acknowledge the Emperour but as King of *Vienna*, but

have a great esteem for the *French* Kings. But without insisting upon the History of their third Race now reigning, or making Panegyrics of their glory; we will say that next to the precedence which they give to the Emperour lawfully elected, they have it over all the Sovereigns of Christendom.

Paragraphe II.

Now to understand the Origine, progresses, and rising of the house of *Austria*, we must observe,

1. That the Empire which was left (as we said) unto *Lothary*, the eldest Son of *Lewis the Mecke*, subsisted (though weakly) in the house of *Charlemagne*, till about the year 912. when "*Lewis* the last of that race being dead, there was a great contention betweene the *German* and *Italian* Princes, whereby the Empire was in confusion above fifty years, untill *Otho the Great*, Duke of *Saxony* invested himselfe of that quality, made himselfe Master of *Germany* and *Italy*, the onely remaining pieces of the Empire, in the year 963. and ruined all his competitors. This *Otho I.* was Father of *Otho II.* and he of *Otho III.* after whose death the *Germans* assisted by Pope *Gregory the V.* who himselfe was a *German*, took upon themselves the right of creating Em-

Lewis 3

Emperours. And from that time all that have peaceably reigned have been *Germans*, because the Popes having made themselves Masters of a great part of *Italy*, have done their utmost to expell the Emperours out of it, and confine them to *Germany*.

2. As in *France*, by the idlenesse of the last Kings of the 2d Race, the Governours of Provinces made themselves Masters of them, and became Dukes and Earles. Likewise the idlenesse of the successors of *Charlemagne* in the Empire, and the confusions risen in *Germany*, after the extinction of that Race, gave a beginning to so many Fees both Secular and Ecclesiasticall which are now in *Germany*, the Governours having made themselves Lords, and laid the foundation of the great Houses now in being. Which neverthelesse have gone through many changes, some families being extinct, and some Fees sold, transported, or confiscated. Among these families, one of the chiefe, and indeed the most remarkable at this time, is that of *Austria*.

3. The *French* Kings of the first Race, possessing a Kingdom of vast extent, which they divided into *Osttrick* and *westrick*. *Osttrick* which by corruption and *French* termination, was called *Austrasie*, was the Eastern part, and comprehended the Countries towards the River *Msa*, and beyond the *Rhine*, and as far

as *Hungarie*, *Westrick*, which by corruption was called *Neustria*, comprehended the *Western* part, from *Mosa* towards *Britain*. These names were long preserved, even to the age of *Charlemagne*, and being lost by the new partage between the Children of *Lewis the meek*; yet the name of *Neustria* stuck long to the *Western* part, which is now called *Normandie* (for *Brittain* was a State by it selfe.) The name of *Ostrick* being lost by the same partage, remain'd nevertheless to the most *Eastern* part, and the next to *Hungary*, and is that which we call *Austria*, a word corrupted from *Ostrick* and *Ostenrick*, and is that Province seated upon *Danubius*, where the *Capitall City* of *Vienna* stands.

4. In that Country *Otho* the III. about the year 1000 establisht *Leopold* a *Marquis*, that is a keeper of those *Marches* against the ordinary excursions of the *Hungarians*. That *Leopold* is the head of the first House of *Marquisses* since *Dukes* of *Austria* which continued, till a certain *Friderick* who went to the War of *Naples* against *Charles* brother of *St. Lewis*, and being taken with *Conradin* a competitor of that Kingdom, was beheaded with him.

By his death without Children, *Austria* returned to the Empire. But *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, sought to joyne it to his State, and sent

sent thither his Sonne *Ottocarus*, who having conspired against the Empire with the *Hungarians*, was degraded and put to death by the Emperour *Rudolphus*, of whom we are now to speak.

5. By the death of the Emperour *Friderick* the Second, the great enemy of Popes, which was "about the year 1231. the factions were so great about a new election, that there was an Anarchy of twenty years and above, under these titular Emperours, *William* Earl of *Holland*, *Richard* of *England*, and **Alphonfus* of *Spain*. In the end, after many assemblies and contentions, the Electors gave their Votes to *Rudolphus* Earl of *Habsburg*, who was acknowledged by the whole Empire. That Election was in the year 1255. five years after the death of "St. Lewis. **Philip le Hardy* then reigning in *France*.

"*he died*
Anno 1250
Decem. 26.

"brother to
Hen. 3. Earl
of Cornwall.
**Alphonfus* 4
K. of Castile.
famous for his
valour, witness
Alphonse to his
"Lewis 9.
**Philip* 2. of
France, son
to St. Lewis

6. Between *Basel* and *Soleurre*, Cantons of *Switzerland*, there is *Triestein* Castle, the Lords whereof had the Title of Counts, and by the women inherited the County of *Habsburg*, and took the Title of the same. Of that House was this *Rodolphus* (before whom there is no certainty of the History of their House) who by his "virtue was elected Emperour, An. 1275. and dyed in the 1291. The Dutchy of *Austria* being then vacant, and *Ottocarus* the *Bobemian* having invaded it, and made a league

"and because it
was so piched by
warres that no
one would accept
of it: for Rich.
Earle of Corn-
wall spreading to
France, and

spending all his moneye amongst y^e medle greedy Germans, was then
extremely slighted of them that called him thither.

league with the *Hungarians* against the Empire, *Rodolphus* divested him of it, and slew him, and *An.* 1282. invested his Son *Albert* in the same. In that *Albert* we must take the birth of the house of *Austria*. And although that *Albert* was also Emperour from the year 1298. till 1308; yet his descent returned not to that quality, but 130. years after, and went for Princes of the Empire, as other Imperial Families; Onely in the time of Pope *John 22.* there was a great contention for the Empire, between *Friderick* of *Austria*, and *Lewis* of *Bavieres*. The whole Pedegree of that house, is to be seen in the Tables of *Bertius*, from the Creation of *Rudolphus* of *Habsburg*, *An.* 1275. to the year 1438. when the Empire entred so into that house, that it did not come out since.

There were
these princes
Richard 1st.
Emperour, and
Albert 2. his
cousin to *Frederick*
Frederick 3. his
Albert's wife
Albert 3. D.
of *Austria*
Leopold 2.
Ernst,
and *Frederick*
3. cousin, and
successor to *Al-*
bert 2. son in
law to *Sigis-*
mond Emperour.
* About 1314.

Paragraphe III.

So much is known then, that the house of *Austria* by the death of *Albert* the first, lost the Empire and fell back into the State of a private principality; and that lesse considerable then the houses of *Saxonie*, *Bavieres*, and *Luxemburg*, which furnished many Emperours, and so it continued till the Emperour *Albert* the II. made Emperour *Anno Dni* 1438.

Sigismond the Emperour, of the house of *Luxemburg*, was Son to *Charles* the IV. Emperour

perour and Grand-child to *John King of Bohemia*. And that *Charles* the IV. was he that made the golden Bull, and establisht a certain form of Imperial elections. This *Charles* was Grand-child to the Emperour, *Henry* the VII. head of the house of *Luxemburg*. *Sigismond* had no male issue, and gave his onely Daughter *Elizabeth* to *Albert of Austria*; who after the death of his Father in law, was elected Emperour, An. 1438. and this house hath ever since kept the Empire.

From that year these Emperours reigned. *Albert* the II. who reigned two years, *Friderick* the III. his Cozin who reigned 53 years. *Maximilian* Son of *Friderick*, who reigned 26 years. *Charles* the V. who reigned 36 years. *Ferdinand* I. brother to *Charles*, who reigned 9 years. *Maximilian* Son of *Ferdinand*, who reigned 12 years. *Rodolphus* II. Son of *Maximilian*, who reigned 36 years. *Matthias* brother to *Adolphus*, who reigned 7 years, *Ferdinand* II. Cozin to the two precedent Emperours, who reigned 19 years. To him succeeded his Son *Ferdinand* III. who is the tenth of that house from the year 1438. To which if you adde the Three of antient date, there have been thirteen Emperours of the house and name of *Austria*.

That house may be considered, either in her Patrimonial estate which she held in
Germany

Germany before her greatnesse; Or in her great rising, which sprung out of three heads.

1. The mariage of *Maximilian* with *Mary*, the Inheritrix of the seventeen Provinces of *Netherlands*, *Franche County*, and the goods, not masculine, of the house of *Burgundy*.

2. The mariage of *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian*, and *Mary* of *Burgundy*, with *Jane* the Inheritrix of *Spain*, and by consequent of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and the *West Indies*, and soon after of *Portugal*, and the *East Indies*.

3. The mariage of *Ferdinand*, brother to *Charles* the V. with *Anne* the Inheritrix of the Kingdomes of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria*. The great estate of that house being accrewed to them by these waies: We will speak here of the Patrimonial Dominions of the house of *Austria*, reserving the rest for the following Paragraphes.

The Patrimony of the house of *Austria* wholly seated in *Germany*, and upon the River *Danubius*; hath on the South the Mountains of *Tirolis*, and towards the *Rhine* *Alsatia*, Bounded Eastward with *Hungary* and *Poland*, Southward by the *Venetians*, Westward by the *Switzers*, and Northward by many Princes of *Germany*. That Estate is composed with many pieces, which were united in one body as it followeth.

1. The Emperour *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg*,
having

having overcome and slain *Ottocarus*, Son of *A.D. 1278.*
Wenceslaus, King of *Bohemia*, gave to his Son The Emperour
Albert the Dutchie of *Austria*, where *Vienna* Rudolphus was
 stands, the Dutchie of *Stiria*, where the Town above time y
 of *Gratz* stands, the Lordships of *Carniola* toward of his
 and *Windismark*; otherwise the *March* of *Slavonia* and it
 and *Portenan* in the Country of *Friuli*, much stomacked
 wherein the house of *Austria* is a neighbour him to see his
 to the *Venetians*. This is the first Patrimony of servant so cal
 of the house of *Austria*, of which *Albert* was tude and to
 invested by his Father at *Ausburg*, by take upon him
 the consent of the Generall States of *Ger-* like an Emperour
many. for forcing *Otto-*
carus to yield
 him homage it
 was agreed it
 should be done
 privily in y
 Emperours hut:
 but whilst *Otto-*
carus was on
 his knees the hut
 way made by
 such art that it
 fell downe flat
 so that *Ottocarus*
 was withheld in
 that posture
 before y Army.
 and not withou
 out infinite vex
 vexation to bee
 so irremediable

2. In the year 1283. *Henry Marquesse* of
Burgan in *Suevia*, between *Ulm* and *Ausburg*,
 being dead without Children, the same Em-
 perour *Rudolphus* gave that Marquisat to his
 Son.

3. *Albert* the III. Duke of *Austria*, Grand-
 child to the first *Albert*, was made Heir with
 his brothers of the Dutchy of *Carinthia*, and
 the Dutchy of *Tirol* within the *Alpes* neare
Italy; by *Margaret*, Daughter to Duke *Henry*
 as her nearest kinsman, by their Grandmo-
 ther *Elizabeth*, Sister to the said *Henry*, and
 Wife to *Albert* the first; and because the
 house of *Bavieres* laid a claim to the County
 of *Tirol*, the said house renounced it by agree-
 ment, Ann. 1362.

4. The County of *Ferretta*, is a little
 Coun-

Country above the *French* County, near *Basel*, and on this side of the *Rhine*. It came to the house *Austria*, by *Jane* Wife to *Albert* the II. Duke of *Austria*, Daughter and Heir of *Ulrich*, Earl of *Ferretta*, about the year 1358.

5. *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, bought of *Agon* Count of *Friburg*, in *Brisgau*, towards *Alsacia*, the Signory of that Town, and some other towards the *Grisons*.

6. *Friderick* the third, in the year 1458. after the death of *Ulrich* Count of *Ciley*, dead without Children, seized upon that County, and united it with the Dutchie of *Stiria*.

7. *Maximilian* the First, in the year 1501. seized upon the County of *Goricia*, vacant by the death of Count *Leonard*. So all these pieces make up the antient Patrimony of *Austria*, which hath many times been distracted and divided, for to make Portions to the youngest. And yet at this time the County of *Burgau* is in the hands of a Branch of that house which bears the Title of *Marquesses of Burgau*. And the County of *Tirol* belongs to the children of the late *Archduke, Leopold*, brother to the *Emperour Ferdinand* the II.

Paragraphe IV.

To make up the greatnesse of *Austria*, six of the greatest houses of *Europe* have met in one; *Austria*, *Burgundy*, *Castilia*, *Arragon*, *Hungary* and *Portugal*.

1. Of that of *Austria*, we have spoken before.

2. The house of *Burgundy* was founded in the person of *Philip*, fourth Son to *King John* of *France*, who dying in the year 1363. left to his Son *Philip* the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. He and his three Successours, *John*, *Philip the Good*, and *Charles* slain before *Nancy*, gathered many Provinces by Marriages, Purchases, Gifts, and Usurpations; whence that great Estate of the house of *Burgundy* was framed, four main pieces whereof depended from the Sovereignty of *France*: Namely, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the County of *Flanders*, with the Towns of *Lilo*, *Doway*, and *Orches*, the County of *Artois*, and that of *Charalois*. The rest he held from the Empire, *Franch County*, the four Dutchies of *Netherlands*, *Luxemburg*, *Limburg*, *Brabant*, and *Gueldres*. The Counties of *Hainault*, *Namur*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Zutphen*, *Mechlen*, *West-Friesland*, *Over-Issel*, and *Groninghen*. And in the year 1528. the Bp. of *Utrecht* yielded to the Emperour, *Charles* the V. the Lordship of *Utrecht*, and his claim in
Over-

Over-Iffel, because he was not strong enough to maintain it against the *Duke of Guelders* his Enemy.

After the death of *Charles*, killed before *Nancy*, *Mary* his onely Daughter, pretended to his whole succession; But *Lewis* the XI. King of *France*, seized upon the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, pretending that it was a masculin fee, given by *King John* to his Son *Philip le Hardy*, for him and his Heirs Male; for the reasons which we shall represent in the following Chapter. All the rest by right remained with *Mary* of *Burgundy*, even the County of *Charolois* almost inclosed within the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, although the French would have it to be a fee of the same Nature, as the Dutchy. Yet because it was found that it had been purchased from the house of *Armagnac*, by the Dukes of *Burgundy*, it was left to *Mary*; And since that time, during the civill confusions, and the Wars with *Spain*, the French having seized upon it; yet they restored it to the house of *Austria*, by the Treaty of *Verdun*, Ann. 1598. saving onely the resort and dependance upon the Parliament of *Dijon*.

3. The house of *Castilia* is an offspring of that of *Navarra*: For *Sanchez* King of *Navarra*, divided all that he held in *Spain* to his three children. *Garcias* the eldest had *Navarra*,

ra; Sanchez King of Navarra, divided all that he held in Spain to his three Children, Garcias the eldest had Navarra; Ferdinand, Castilia; and Ramires, Arragon. Of these Kings, the lives and actions must be seen in the History of Spain. In the year 1472: that House fell to Isabella, sister to Henry the IV. called the Impotent. Isabella was married to Ferdinand King of Arragon. From that marriage issued Joane the second Daughter and Heir, which brought all these Estates to the House of Austria by her marriage with Archiduke Philip. Son of Maximilian. 1. These Estates contained the two Castilia's, Galicia, Leon, Asturia, Biscay, Mursia, Cordova, Andalusia, Estremadura. Since that time an. 1492. under the conduct of Christophorus Columbus, the Castilians discovered many Islands of West-Indies, Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and others. Americus Vespucius, discovered the Western continent, an. 1500. Fernando Cortez, subdued the great State of Mexico, an. 1518. and Francis Pizarro the Perou, an. 1525. All that, is comprehended under the name of Castilia, and is fallen to the House of Austria by that marriage.

4. As for Arragon, many Kings reigned in it of the line of the foresaid Ramires; and that family past through many changes. In the end that estate fell into the hands of Ferdinand the Catholique, at the same time that

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the

the Kingdom of Castilia fell to *Isabella* whom he married. So his estate came to consist of four parts. 1. Of the patrimonial inheritance of his House, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, *Roussillon*, *Valentia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Ivica*, *Fromentera*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*. 2. The Kingdom of *Naples*, which he rooke from the *French*, An. 1503. as we shall lay afterwards. 3. The Kingdom of *Granada*, which he and his wife *Isabella* got from the *Saracens*, Anno 1494. 4. The Kingdome of *Navarra*, out of which he dispossess'd *John of Albret*, An. 1512.

11 being excommunicated by
Pope Julius 2. for
adhering to Lewis
12. K. of France.

All these Estates fell to his Daughter, married with *Philip* Arch-duke of *Austria*.

5. *Hungary* had her Kings, well known in the Histories, especially since the year 1000. the time of King *St. Steven*. That family fell to that of the Kings of *Naples*, descended from the Royall House of *France*, by the marriage of the inheritrice of *Hungary* with *Charles the Dane*, Son to *Charles*, brother to *St. Lewis*. Finally, after many great changes, that Crown fell to *Lewis* the last King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, slain by the *Turks* in the battel of *Mohats*, An. 1526. He dying without Children, the Crowne fell to his sister *Anne*, whom *Charles* the V. her brother in law presently caused to be married to his brother *Ferdinand*. So the two Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* entred into the House of *Austria*.

To *Bohemia* were annext also *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and the two *Lusatias*. Under the name of *Hungary*, was contained also *Transylvania*, with part of *Bulgaris*, *Croatia*, *Slavonia*, *Dalmatia*. But the greatest part of these is now in the hand of the Turks.

6. The State of *Portugal* began about the year 1090. in the person of *Henry*, a French Prince of the House of *Burgundy*, and continued among many changes to the death of *King Sebastian*, An. 1579. after whom in the reign of his great Uncle *Cardinal Henry*, there was a dispute between many contenders for the succession. But *Philip* the II. King of *Spain*, got it by Arms, An. 1580. claiming right to it by his Mother *Isabella*, Daughter to *King Emanuel*, for the reasons which we shal speak of in the next Chapter. From that Kingdom depends that of *Algarba*, the Towns of *Ceuta*, *Tanger*, and *Marsagan* in *Africa*. An infinite number of *Ilands* and *Caps*, from the *Cape of good Hope*, the Kingdoms of *Congo*, *Angola*, *Bresia*; And beyond the *Cape of good Hope*, an infinite number of Towns, Isles, Countries, and Forts, as far as *China*, and the extremity of the East. All that is comprehended under the name of *East-Indies*, discovered at severall times since; *Vasco Gamma*, a Gentleman of *Portugal* past the *Cape of good Hope*, An. 1497. under *Emanuel King of Portugal*. It is then

then by the right of *Isabella*, wife to the Emperour *Charles* the V. that the great Estate of *Portugal* was devolved to the House of *Austria*. To which Estate they have since added several pieces by conquest or otherwise.

Charles the V. got the Lordship of *Utrecht* from the Bishop, as we said before. The sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, was appropriated to them (as they pretend) by the Treaties of *Madrid*, An. 1525. Of *Cambray*, An. 1529. Of *Crespy*, An. 1544. The same *Charles* got the Town of *Mastricht*, An. 1530, although the Bishop of *Liege* pretended the halfe of it to belong to his jurisdiction. In the year 1530. he invested *Ludovic Sforza* with the Dutchy of *Milan*, upon condition that if he dyed childlesse, *Philip* the II. King of *Spain* should succeed him, which happened five years after, An. 1536. he got the Dutchy of *Guellders*, the County of *Zutjen*, and the Lordship of *Groning*, by a Treaty with *Charles*, the Duk of *Guellders*, who dyed an. 1538. An. 1543. he made himselfe Master of the Town of *Cambray*, as Protector of that Imperiall Town, which being since got by the *French*, and lost again, was confirmed to the *Spaniards* by the Treaty of *Vervins*.

An. 1538. the same *Charles* having got the Town of *Siena*, gave it to *Cosmo* Duke of *Florence*, to be an homage for it to the King of *Spain*,

Spain, paying six thousand Ducats of entry at every change of Duke.

Philip the II. King of *Spain*, took from the *Turks*, an. 1554. the Fort of *Fignon*,^d *Veles*, and *Gomera*, in *Africa*. An. 1571. he wrested the *Marquisat* of *Final* from the House of *Carreto*. *Philip* the III. took from the *Moore*s in *Africa*, the Townes of *Arrach* and *Mamora*. These are the principal pieces of that great State of vast extent. And I think one may truly say, that the House of *Austria* holds more ground then ever any Prince did: But these pieces being scattered, that State is not strong, glorious, and formidable according to its extent.

That House of *Austria* was divided into two branches, the *Spanish* and the *German*, between *Charles* and *Ferdinand* brothers, and successively Emperours, Sons to *Archiduke Philip*, and *Jane* of *Spain*. *Charles* was the head of the *Spanish* branch, which holds in *Europe*, and out of it all that we said before. *Ferdinand*, brother of *Charles*, was the head of the *German* branch which now holds the Empire.

To him *Charles* yeelded the ancient patrimonial Estate of the House of *Austria*, within the limits of *Germany*. The same *Ferdinand* by his marriage with *Anne*, inheritrix of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, united those two Crowns to his States. These two Branches at this pre-

And reason good:
for *Charles* *Ferdinand*
likely to be in y
restoration in *Spain*
A. D. 1597. by John of
Badilla and others,
Ferdinand sent the
best treasures of
Ferdinand and
Maximilian Emperour
most sparing princ
together with a

D 3

sent

great mass of plate, unnumbered: at y^e sight whereof *Charles* was amazed
Maximilian to get money to pay in *pro*, and take pay of our *Henry* 8. at the
siege of *Torwanc* in *Picardie* Anno Dom 1513.

sent hold these Estates, saving that which *Gustavus* the King of *Sweden* hath taken from them, and what the *French* have got in these Warres from the *Spaniard*. In the Low Countries, *Hesdin*, *Arras*, *Bapaume*, *Landrecy*, *Thionville*, *Quesnoy*, &c. Towards *Spain* the County of *Roussillon* and *Perpignan*. Then the *Catalonians* have revolted and given themselves to the *French*. *Portugal* also hath shaken the yolk, and chosen a King of the House of *Braganza*. Of elder date, part of the Low Countries have cantonned themselves, and are now *Sovereigns*. The *Turk* hath got the most part of *Hungary*; and *Transylvania* acknowledgeth no more the House *Austria*.

The taxacions
of y^e Empour
are so heavy,
that the *Turkes*
subjects the *Greeks*
when offered aid
by y^e German
Empours have
refused it, as
thinking y^e *Tur-*
kish yolk to be
more tolerable.
Hence y^e loss of
Belgrade the key
of *Hungary*
A D 1521.

CHAP. III.

A discussing of the Rights now in dispute betweene the Houses of France and Austria.

THe contentions between these two Families these 150 yeares, and of the Nations subject unto them, especially the *French* and the *Spaniards*, comes not onely out of naturall antipathy and contrary inclinations, but chiefly out of the pretences that the one House

house hath upon the other. For, as between private persons, so among Princes, the neighbourhood of grounds breeds quarrells. And these severall pretences yet undecided, ought to be examined, to know the ground of all the late and present Wars. Of these, large volumes of Histories, and Polemical writings might be, and have been, written; but here I undertake no more, but faithfully to set down the grounds of pretences on both sides. Which though I will do briefly, and summarily; yet will I omit nothing essential and fit to decide the differences. To do this orderly, we will divide this Chapter into two points. The first, of the pretences of the house of *Austria* upon *France*. The second, of the pretences of *France* upon the house of *Austria*.

First Point.

The pretences of the house of Austria, upon that of France.

ALthough the house of *Austria*, both the *Spanish* and the *German*, have pretences different from that of the Empire, which they hold only by Election, and upon Condition of yielding, and depositing it again in the hands

hands of the Electours, after the death of each Emperour; Yet their interesses are now so united, that the Imperial rights, and those of the house of *Austria* can hardly be separated. Wherefore we will examine them together.

All the pretences of that Family, are either upon the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of *France*, or part thereof; especially upon the propriety of *Province*, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Towns of *Mets*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, the Towns upon the River of *Somme*, and the Dutchy of *Britain*. These must be examined.

Paragraphe I.

The pretended Rights of the Empire, upon the Sovereignty of France.

Concerning that Right, now stale, and indeed ridiculous; four things are to be considered.

1. The Roman Empire which began in *Julius Caesar*, or *Augustus*, comprehended indeed all the West, and herein the *Gaules*. That Empire was made up of the ruine of many Nations, by right or wrong. Howsoever long prescription, and the consent of Nations, with the extinction of the royall Families, made up a reasonable right, which continued

ed in the Roman Emperours, till the year of Christ, 400; when by the inundation of many Northern Nations; *Goths, Vandales, Franks*, and others; the whole Empire was dismembred, and the severall Conquerors of each part made themselves Sovereign. So did the *Franks* in *Gaul*. A beginning not to be excused of violence and usurpation. But the ruine of the Romans, prescription, and the consent of the conquered people did since authorize their dominion, and towards the end of the first age of these invasions, they were all justified, and the Conquerours remained just possessours, especially when the Roman Empire ended in *Augustulus*, An. 475.

And when *Charlemagne* restored the Western Empire, an. 800. that promotion did not alter the former Title he had to the Kingdome of *France*. It was but a Title of honour, which he, and after him his Sonne *Lewis the Meek* possesse, with that of King of *France*. Afterwards, by the partage made An, 843. between the Sons of *Lewis the Meek*; each of the three brothers had his portion independent from the others, and *Lothary* the Eldest, who had the Title of Emperour, pretended no right over *Charles the Bald*, who had *France* for his Portion, much as it is now. Since which time, all that would ascribe any Superiority to the Emperours, over the Princes

Princes of Christendom, that are acknowledged Sovereign, have with good reason bin hissed out as ridiculous. Only the precedence was left to the Emperour as the eldest among the brethren. But the subjection which he yields to the Pope, and the small right which he retains over the Lands and Princes of the Empire, weaken his authority very much, and make it unworthy of that precedence over all the Princes of Christendom. Wherefore he doth not stir those antient pretences over all the Kingdomes of the West.

11 I have a book
in Italian compo-
sed by Pietro
Mortino, put
forth 1540. in
which he
denies that
house from
Adam, and
Noah, and so to
Charles 5. and
Justinian 1.

2. Some Germane Historians, as *Trithemius*, *Lazius*, *Munster*, *Fiesdorp* make the house of *Habsburg* (which is that of *Austria*) to descend from the first race of the French Kings; a fable invented since 120. years, and newly taken up again by the flatterers of that house. Especially by *Fiesdorp*, a name either true or forged by the Spaniards.

To understand this, we must know that the Kingdom of *France* was often divided into *Tetrarchies* under the first race, Kings of *Paris*, of *Orleans*, of *Soissons*, and *Mets*. In the last of these, *Bruneault* reigned with great power, that abominable woman so much renowned in our Histories, which confounded and destroyed that house by her ordinary murders. That State of *Mets* being fallen into the hands of two brothers, *Thierry* and

Theo-

For me in pieces
with wild horses
A.D. 613.

Theodebert, who contended for it; *Therry* joyning with his Grandmother *Brunebault*, overcame *Theodebert* in battell, and put him cruelly to death. And by *Brunebault*'s order, the two Sons of *Theodebert* were slain in her presence. This Tragedy was acted An. 617. But these Historians, to flatter the house of *Austria*, say, that of these two Sons of *Theodebert*, the one, called *Sigebert*, escaped the hands of his great Grandmother, and fled into *Germany* to *Godfrey* and *Genebald*, Dukes of *France*, his Uncles by the Mother, by whose intercession he obtained of *Lothary* King of *France*, his Cousin, some lands in *Switzerland*, upon condition that he should renounce all his rights to the Crown of *France*. That he or his Son, or one of his more remote descent built the Castle of *Habsburg*, and founded that family. And upon that account, the house of *Austria* descends from that of *France*.

That relation is a blind tale; for all ancient Historians affirm, that both the Sons of *Theodebert* (and he had no more) were slain by *Brunebault*. And the first that mentions that escape of *Sigebert*, is *Trithemius*, who lived about six score yeares ago. And as it is false, it is ridiculous in the ordinary vicissitude of the affairs of the world, and the continuall changes of Possessions, to set up Titles

tles after an interruption of a thousand years. For, upon that account, there is no Prince in *Europe*, but may be degraded, and no mean man, but may be intitled to some principality. It is with great reason, that the Title of prescription is every where preferred before all Titles. And though the tale were a true story, that *Rodolphus of Habsburg*, the head of the house of *Austria*, was descended from the Family of *Habsburg* by the women; his masculine extraction was from the house of *Ti-estein*. So this pretence is so ridiculous, that it is not worth speaking.

3. The branch of the house of *Valois* hath continued from male to male from *Philip de Valois*, who came to the Crown, *An. 1328*, to the death of *Henry the Third*, *An. 1589*. males failing in that branch, the Crown by the fundamental laws of the Land was to pass to the next branch of the Males, which was that of *Bourbon*, and so did in the end. A Title so known to all the French, that even in the heat of the War of the League, against the house of *Bourbon*, as professing a contrary Religion; yet they crowned the *Cardinal of Bourbon*, and called him *Charles the Tenth*.

In these confusions, *Philip the Second King of Spain*, seeing the party of the League inclined to the Election of a King, claimed the Kingdom for his Daughter *Clara Eugenia Isabella*,

Isabella, as Daughter of *Elizabeth* of France, his third wife, sister and Heir of the three last Kings, *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* and of *Francis Duke of Alençon*, the eldest of three Sisters; of which the Second was *Claude*, married to *Charles Duke of Lorrain*; and the third was *Queen Margaret*, wife to *Henry the Fourth*, then only titular King of *Navarra*. He alleadged then that *representation* being a good Title by the Laws of France, his Daughter entred into all the rights of her Mother *Elizabeth*, which should have inherited of her brothers; and that her right extended even to the *Crown*, as the Patrimony of her Family; That the pretended *Salique Law* of the French was imaginary; yea, and against Nature, against Humanity, and the right of Political successions, which require that all Inheritances may go to the next Heirs. And though that Law had force among the French, that his Daughter being not a subject, nor borne in France, could not be tied by these municipall Laws. That between Sovereigns, the Law of Nature, not the particular Laws of Nations should be the rule. That all Laws of Nature reject this principle, that the successions should be for males only, as though females were unreasonable creatures; or the excrements and sweepings of mankind, and no part of human society.

When

When the States of the League were assembled in *Paris*, An. 1593. some unadvised and rash heads moved the Election of a King, and the excluding of the house of *Bourbon*, which stirred the Parliament to make that famous Arrest for the maintaining of the Salique Law, to which the wisest of the League yielded. *Philip the II. of Spain*, in that Assembly of the States, set up his Daughters Title, and presented her to be Queen. But presently perceiving the weaknesse of that Title, and the aversion of the French, from the Government of a woman; he offered to marry her either with a Prince of the house of *Austria*, or with one of the House of *Lorraine*. Whose imaginary rights were at the same time pleaded. And to strengthen all these rights, he said, that the Election by the States would supply all defects in the Right of succession.

It appeared, that *Philip* acknowledged the weaknesse of his Daughters right, since he presented her to be elected. The Salique Law is fundamentall in *France*, wisely instituted, and observed twelve hundred years together.

As for *Philips* allegation, that Princes are not to be tied by municipall Laws, but by the Laws of Nature, it is utterly false. For in the discussion of the rights of all Sovereigns, the municipall Lawes are alwaies examined, and

and none can have right to an Estate from which he is excluded by the Law of the Land. The decision of all suits for Estate, is taken out of the customes of the Land where the Estate lyeth; but where those customes written or unwritten are wanting, the case is to be decided by reason onely. The *French* think they have both Law and Reason on their side. Howsoever, that *Isabella* in whose favour that Right was set up, dyed childlesse, *an. 1533.* Whose right, if she had any, should be devolved since to the Children of her second sister *Katherine*, wife to *Charles Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, from whom all the House of *Savoy* that now is, is descended.

4. Besides these imaginary Rights to the whole Kingdom, the Empire hath a weak pretended right to some parts of it. Whereupon we must observe, That by the partage between the Sons of *Lewis the Meek*, 843. all the Countries that lye between the Rivers of *Rhose* and *Saone*, and the *Alpes*, viz. *Provence*, *Daulphine*, *Savoy*, and *Franch County*, remained Imperial Lands. And the *French* Kings in the second Race, yea, and very far in the third Race, pretended nothing to them till *Daulphine* came to them in the time of *Philip de Valois*, and *Provence*, in the time of *Lewis the XI.* And that part of the Empire being held by *Lothary* the eldest Son of *Lewis*

the

the Meek, and after him by his Son *Lewis the Young*, who dyed without Heirs Male, a State was erected in favour of his Daughter *Hermengard*; between these two Rivers and the *Alpes*, which was called the Kingdom of *Arles*, or the second Kingdome of *Burgundy*, which continued under its proper Kings (whose pedigree was fully described by the Historian *Du Chesne*) unto the death of *Rodolphus* the last King, who dying without issue, *an.* 1036. left his Estate to the Emperour *Conrad* the II, surnamed the *Salique*, who had married his sister *Grisel*, or (as some say) was his Nephew by her.

By that gift, besides the antient pretence of the Empire upon that Kingdome, at least for the sovereignty, the Emperours became Masters of the same both by sovereignty and propriety, and annex it to the Empire; At which time the Arch-bishop of *Treves* tooke the name of Chancellor, *per regnum Arelatense*. But the Authority of the Emperours coming to a great decay out of Germany, especially during the Warres betweene the Emperour *Henry* the IV. and the Popes; four Principalities were framed in that Kingdom of *Arles*, of the Counts of *Provence*, the *Dolphins* of *Viennois*, the Counts of *Moriurre*, called since *Dukes of Savoy*, and the Counts of *Burgundy*, which without question depended from

from the Empire as long as there was any vigour in it: But time hath worne out that title, and prescription is past upon it; not to be broken, and the old title revived, unless the Emperour will together question most part of the Principalities of *Italy*, and the East and North *Gaules*.

Of these four Principalities, that of *Savoy* subsisterh to this day. *Franch County* is fallen to the House of *Flanders*, and so to the house of *Austria*. *Daulphiné* was given to *Philip de Valois* by *Imbert Dolphin*, about the yeare 1343. And *Provence* to *Lewis* the XI. an. 1482. by *Charles* Count of *Maine*, Heir to *René* King of *Naples*, and Duke of *Anjou*. All these changes and gifts as for the propriety only, the Sovereignty being still pretended by the Emperours, which they may well be accounted to have lost, by weaknesse, desertion, and by prescription, as many other Principalities at this side of the *Rhine*. Besides, the *French* Histories relate that in the year 1377. the Emperour *Charles* the IV, being come into *France* to visit King *Charles* the V, gave to his God-son *Charles*, who since was *Charles* the VI, the right which the Emperours pretended in *Daulphiné*, which was no great gift. And *Theodorick à Niem*, an Historian of that age, saith, That the same Emperour being come to *Avignon* to visit the Pope, gave to

E

Lewis

Lewis Duke of Anjou, brother to *Charles the V. of France*, the whole Kingdome of *Arles*, which had been under the jurisdiction of the Empire, in recompence of the magnificent entertainment which the said *Lewis* gave him at *Villeneuve* near *Arignon*. So all these Rights of the Empire, are lost either by prescription or donation. These are all the rights that can be imagined to be pretended by the Emperours and the House of *Austria*, upon the Sovereignty of *France*.

Paragraphe II.

Of the Rights pretended upon Provence.

Let us now examine some pretences of the House of *Austria*, upon some Dutchies and other Dominions in *France*, beginning at *Provence*.

1. I shewed before, how *Provence* before the partage betweene the Sons of *Lewis the Meek*, (a fundamental and famous Date in our History) was part of the Kingdome of *France*; And when it was divided into Te-trarchies, it was a member of the Kingdom of *Mets*, *Austrasia*, or *Burgundy*. But when (before that famous division) all *France* was reunited in the second Race under these two great Princes, *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, *Provence* was a part of it.

2. By

2. By the partage betweene the Sonnes of *Lewis the Meek*, *Provence*, with all that was beyond the Rivers of *Rhofne* and *Saone*, was cut off from the portion, given to *Charles the Bald*, and was since called the Kingdome of *Arles*. All these pieces given to *Lothary* the eldest brother, were called the *Empire*, and Imperial grounds; and to this day the Lands beyond the *Rhone* towards *Italy*, are called *Terres d'Empire*, Lands of the *Empire*, and the Lands at this side *Terres de France*, French Lands. Since that partage, the Emperours have alwayes pretended a Sovereignty to those Countries, a right strengthened by the donation made of the propriety of it, to the Emperour *Conrad* the *Salique*, by his Uncle or Brother in law *Rodolphus* the last King of *Burgundy*.

3. *Lewis* the II. Emperour, Son to that *Lothary*, left but one Daughter called *Hermengarda*, which being incapable of the Title of Emperour, had instead of it that Country between the Rivers of *Saone* and the *Rhone*, the *Alpes*, and the Sea; which Dominon was erected to the Title of a Kingdom by *Charles the Bald*, King of *France*, and Emperour in favour of that *Hermengarda*, whom *Bozon* one of the Court of *Charles*, and his wives kinsman took away. These two *Bozon* and *Hermengarda*, gave a beginning to that second

Kingdom of *Burgundy*, or the Kingdom of *Arles*, about the year 875. which continued under these Kings among many alterations to that last *Rodolphus*, an. 1036. All that time *Provence* was part of that Kingdome of *Arles*.

4. Which Kingdom being extinct in that *Rodolphus*, and united to the Empire by *Conrad* the *Salique*, shortly after by the weakness of the Emperours, and the disorders risen in the Empire; four Principalities were framed out of it, as we said before. That of *Provence*, under the title of a County, was the most considerable, as being full of good Towns, and of great commerce, by reason of the Sea. It was possesst by the family of *Berengers*, with the title of *Counts*, whose History was written by *Nostradamus*.

5. That House of *Berengers* kept the County of *Provence* till the time of *St Lewis*, when *Raymond Berenger* the last Count left four Daughters, the eldest whereof *Margaret* was married to *St Lewis*. The three others were also married to Sovereign Princes, *Eleonor* to *Henry* the III. King of *England*; *Fancie* to *Richard* his brother, who was since created King of the *Romans*; and the fourth Daughter *Beatrix*, to *Charles* Count of *Anjou*, brother to *St Lewis*. *Raymond* dying an. 1231. left that *Beatrix* Heir of all his Estate, leaving Legacies only

onely to the three others, to each three thousand marks. Another *Raymond* Count of *Thoulouse*, would have taken away that *Beatrix* to marry her : But *St Lewis* prevented him, sending an Army into *Provence*, and taking her gave her to his brother *Charles* to wife, to whom he gave the County of *Anjou*. And thirty yeares after, the same *Charles* was invested by the Pope, with the Kingdome of the two *Sicilies*, as we shall see hereafter.

The County of *Anjou* returned to the Crown of *France*, being given as a portion to *Margaret*, Grand-child to that *Charles*, who was married to *Charles* Count of *Valois*, Father to King *Philip de Valois*. And many yeares after that first Branch of the Kings of *Naples*, and Counts of *Anjou*, pretended no right to that County, it was given to *Lewis*, brother to King *Charles* the V. who founded the second House of *Anjou*, now erected to a Dukedome. But the two other pieces of that Estate, which *Charles* brother to *St. Lewis* enjoyed with his wife *Beatrix*, which was *Provence*, and the Kingdom of the two *Sicilies* remained alwayes united : and the Kings of *Naples* and *Sicily*, whether of the first House of *Anjou*, or of the second, or of the family of *Arragon*, have alwayes claimed a right to the County of *Provence* ; so that *Naples* and *Provence* go under one right, as we shall more
E 3 fully

fully expound when we shall speak of the claim of France upon Naples.

Joane I.

70 years.

6.th Jane, Queen of Naples, of the first house of Anjou, went out of *Italie*, An. 1347. with Pope Clement VII. and retired to *Avignon* when that great Schism began, which continued forty years. Since which time, although there have been many disputes for the succession of Naples, between the Families of Charles de Duras, the Dukes of Anjou, and the house of Arragon, and that portion of *Italie* past through many changes; yet Province into which that Jane retired, was soon after put in the hands of Lewis, first Duke of Anjou, brother to Charles the V. and both he and his descent enjoyed it peaceably, without any disturbance from the houses of Hungary and Arragon, who were fighting for the Kingdom of Naples, although both pretended that Province belonged to them by the same right. But the conveniency of the place, as lying under the wings of France, which might assist it at any time, kept the possession thereof to the house of Anjou. And finally, from the house of Anjou it past to that of France, being left to Lewis the XI. by Charles Count du Main, Heir and Nephew to Rene, titular King of Naples, and reall Possessor of Province. Lewis the XI. though he knew the right of the French in Naples, which his Son Charles the

VIII. and his other successours have pursued; yet he neglected it, and contented himself to take *Provence*. By this discourse, it appears that who so hath the lawfull Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples* (which we shall examine afterwards) hath also a lawfull right to *Province*.

7. Besides that claim of the Possessors of *Naples* upon *Province*, disputable between that house first of *Anjou*, and that of *Arragon* & *Austria*; there is a more particular claim of the *Dukes of Lorraine* against the *French Kings*, Heirs to that *Charles du Main*. The *Lorrainers* pretend that *René* having a Daughter named *Toland*, from which the house of *Lorrain* is descended, could not lawfully dis-inherit his Grandchild, to give his Estate to *Charles du Maine* his Nephew. To which the *French* answer two things.

1. That *Province* was a purchase of *René*, who could dispose of it.

2. And that *Province* useth the Civil or Roman Law, by which testaments are free. But the discussion of that point, is for another place.

Howsoever this remains, That the *Dukes of Anjou*, and the *French Kings* after them, have peaceably enjoyed the County of *Province* above 270. years, and the invaders of *Naples* never had any thing in it: Which indeed, hin-

der snot, but that they may have a right to it. But the reason whereby we shall exclude them hereafter from any right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, will serve also to invalid their claim upon *Province*.

Paragraphe. III.

Of the Dutchy of Burgundy.

1. The *Burgundians* came out of *Germany*, or some other Nation of the North, in that great inundation of Northern people over the *Roman Empire*, about the year 400. founded a State under the name of the first Kingdom of *Burgundy*, about the Rivers of *Saone* and *Rhone*, and near the *Alpes*: And that State having begun *An. 407.* was ruined by the children of the great *Clowis* about the year 527. and lasted about six score years.

2. Since which time, under the first race of the *French Kings*, *Burgundy* was part of the Kingdom of *Orleans*; some part of it also belonging to the Kingdom of *Mets*, and *Austrasia*. And in the end, the Kingdom of *Mets* and that of *Burgundy*, became all one, till by the partage between the children of *Lewis the Meek*, that part of *Burgundy*, which is beyond the River of *Saone*, remained with the Empire, and in the portion of *Lothary* the eldest Son. The other on this side of the River of *Sa-*

one, was allotted to *France*, and was a considerable member of the same. Before the institution of Fees, (made in the beginning of the third race) *Burgundy* was governed by Dukes, and three Brothers of *Hugh Capet*, the first of that race, held it. But the last of them, *Robert*, was divested of them by his Nepnew, *King Robert*, Son to *Hugh Capet*, and it was re-united to the Crown. All that was before the two Families of *Burgundy*, of which we are to speak to discusse the right which the *Spaniards* pretend upon that piece of the *French State*.

3. So then from the beginning of the first Race, two Royall Families have possess'd the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. The first began by *Robert*, younger brother to *King Henry the First*, and Son to *King Robert*. To him his brother *Henry* gave that Dutchy, in the year 1032. That Family continued from Male to Male, without any interruption of Female succession, untill the death of the last Duke *Philip*, dead without issue, An. 1362. Then King *John* at that time reigning in *France*, seiz'd upon that piece as an *apanage*; so the *French* call the Portions of the Sons of *France*, which are to return to the Crown, when Heirs Male fail. That *apanage* then being returned to the Crown, King *John* bestowed it in the same nature upon his fourth Son *Philip*. This was the

Robert 1st of *France* by his Testament ordain'd *Henry* his 2nd son King: whence the 2 brothers being about to fight for y^e kingdome *Robert* triumph'd for his portion. The King of *France* is lineall heir of that *Robert*.

the head of the second house of *Burgundy*, which had four Dukes only successively. This *Philip* called *le Hardy*, invested by his Father, then *John*, the third *Philip le Bon*, the last *Charles* killed before *Nancy*, An. 1477. who left his Daughter *Mary* his universall Heir. She was married to *Maximilian* of *Austria*, since Emperour, and so carried all her estate into the house of *Austria*. From that marriage came *Philip Archduke*, married with *Jane*, Inheritrix of all *Spain*; and by her had two Sons, *Charles the V.* and *Ferdinand*, Emperours, founders of the two Families of *Austria* that now reign.

4. After the death of *Charles*, killed before *Nancy*, *Lewis the XI.* seized upon the Dutchy of *Burgundy* as an apanage of *France*, returning to the Crown. Although *Mary* and her Husband *Maximilian* alleaged, that the Dutchy had been given to *Philip the Hardy*, by his Father, *King John*, as an absolute gift, without any restriction of masculine descent. That question, though agitated on both sides, will alwaies remain undecided. The *French Kings* maintaining themselves in that possession. *Charles the V.* Grandchild to that *Mary*, grounding himself upon that right, which we will declare afterwards, required by the Treaty of *Madrid*, that the Dutchy of *Burgundy* should be restored to him as his by his
Grand-

Grandmothers right, and taken from her by *Lewis the XI.* But after the return of *Francis the I.* that Treaty was declared void, as being contrary to all right of Nations, which disannull Treaties made in Prison, and extorted by violence, & contrary to the Municipal Laws of the State of France, which constitute the Kings to be alwaies *Minors*: that is, incapable of absolute disposition, as for the alienation of their Dominions. So the Article of that Treatise, concerning the restitution of *Burgundy* remained null, though signed by the King. Besides, the States Generall of the Kingdom protested to the King, that it was never in his power to alienate any Province of his State without their consent. Which last opposition was of such force, that since neither in the Treaty of *Cambrai*, nor in that of *Cresspy in Valois* (in which severall pieces were yielded unto the house of *Austria*) any mention was made of *Burgundy*. Yet the Kings of *Spain* take still the Title of *Dukes of Burgundy*. So much for the Fact. We will now examine the right.

5. It must be acknowledged that the severity of *Apanages* for the Males onely, to the exclusion of Females, is not in use among the *French* but since the time of *Philip de Valois*, who began to reign *An. 1328*; for remounting higher to *Hugh Capet*, we find not that

ex-

exclusion of Females from successions, saving the ordinary preference of the Males before them. And the Females were admitted Heirs, in all kinds of estates, whether given by the King, or by others. Yea, many times the houses of the Sons of *France* have ended in Females, that have transported their Estates to other Families; as it appears in that of *Dreux* of *Vermandois*, of *Courtenay*, and of others. But since the time of *Philip de Valois*, no Son of *France* had any *apanage* but upon that condition. Which is evident, in that all the *apanages* are returned to the Crown by the extinction of Males, to the exclusion of Females, as those of *Anjou*, *Berry*, *Alanson*, and others. Yea, although that first house of *Burgundy* be much antienter, and hath begun almost with the third race; yet as it was the first, and most important *apanage*, we have in the History thereof an example of the exclusion of Females and settling the inheritance in the Males. *Hugh the IV.* of that name, Duke of *Burgundy* had three Sons, *Eudes* his eldest, *John* Lord of *Charrólois*, and *Robert the II.* Duke of *Burgundy*. *Eudes* was married in his Fathers life time, died before him, and left three Daughters, *Joland*, *Margaret*, and *Alice* or *Alix*; *John* the second Son was married, and died likewise before his Father, leaving a Daughter *Beatrix of Burgundy*, Lady of

of *Bourbon*. This was the Lady who being married with *Robert*, Son to *Saint Lewis*, gave a beginning to the house of *Bourbon*. When *Eudes the IV.* died, it seemed that the Daughters of the First or Second of his Sons should have inherited by the right of representation of their Father; but they were excluded from it by their Uncle *Robert*, who enjoyed it, and his Heirs Male peaceably, though these four Daughters had been married in great and potent houses.

6. *Philip* the last Duke of that Race being dead, *King John* took the Dutchy in his Possession; yet did not reunite it to the Crown, but presently gave it to his fourth Son, *Philip le Hardy*, whom he especially loved, because he had saved his life in the battell of *Poitiers*, though he was then very young. He gave it him by a long Charter, which indeed contains not in expresse termes the exception of Female Heirs; but conferrs it upon him *with the same rights by which himself came by it, and by which he possesseth it.* Termes which have caused difficulty, because *John* could be said to succeed to it by two rights; the one as King, the other as the next Heir-male of the last Duke. If he succeeded to it as King, the Dutchy being an *apanage*, returning to the Crown in defect of Heir-Male, then without doubt it was settled upon his

*A. D. 1356.
Sept. 18.*

his Son *Philip* as a masculine *apanage*, both because his Father gave it him with the same right by which himself had got it. And because the severe Law of *Apanages* was already in use from *Philip de Valois*, Father to *John*, and never was interrupted since.

7. But King *John* (say the *Spaniards*) inherited of the last Duke as the next of blood, and his Heir, *ab intestato*, because it appeareth in the Genealogy of that first Race of *Burgundy*, that *Robert* the II, he that had excluded his four Nieces, was Father to *Hugh* the V. who dyed without issue, and of *Eudes* the IV. both successively Dukes of *Burgundy*. This last was Grandfather to *Philip* the last Duke, who ended the masculine line. But that *Robert* the II. had three Daughters besides *Margaret* wife to King *Lewis Hutin*, whence came the house of *Navarra*, *Jane* wife to King *Philip de Valois*, and mother to King *John*, and *Mary* wife to *Edward* Count of *Bar*. They say then, that after the death of *Philip* the last Duke, King *John* took that Dutchy by the right of his mother *Jane*, which right he transported to his Son *Philip le Hardy*, without any mention of masculine *apanage*, whereby they will have it evident, that femals may inherit it.

8. Against that pretended right which was very much disputed in the Treaty of *Madrid*, the

the French have strong exceptions.

The first is, That from the time of *Philip de Valois*, within which that gift was made, no Son of France had any great *Apanage* but with that restriction, against which whatsoever King *John* may have said or done (and he was a very imprudent and rash man) he could do no valuable deed to the detriment of the State, or against the fundamental Lawes.

The second Reason is, That since we see by the example of *Hugh the IV.* that females are excluded from that succession, we must acknowledge that *John* did not succeed by right of his mother, but as King, receiving an *apanage* devolved unto him.

The third Reason is, That King *John* was not the next Heir in blood, for by proximity of blood, the children of the eldest Daughter, which was *Margaret* wife to King *Lewis Hutin* should have succeeded, not King *John*, who was Son to the second. Now that succession fell when that wicked man *Charles King of Navarre*, Grandchild to that *Margaret* was in his strength, who if there had beene any life in that title, would not have failed to have set it up; for *Burgundy* was better then all his *Navarre*, and the rest of his estate. And yet that stirring man did not stirre that point, or it was so slightly, that he left off presently; but hotly pursued a recompence for the

^{no} 2. his began
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the Counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, which by right belonged to his mother *Jane*, Daughter to *Lewis Hutin*, Sonne to *Jane* Countess of *Champagne* and *Brie*, Queen of *Navarra*, wife to *Philip le Bel*. By all this it is evident, that the Dutchy of *Burgundy* was settled upon *Philip le Hardy* his Son, in the nature of a true masculine *apanage*.

Paragraphe IV.

Of the Towns of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun.

By the partage so famous among the Sons of *Lewis the Meek*, an. 843. it is certaine that all that was beyond the River *Mosa* towards *Germany*, was cut off from that which retain'd the name of Kingdome of *France*; and that these three Towns remained Imperiall. But *Mosa* being the bound of these two States, the Empire and the Kingdome; yet by an infinity of Warres, Usurpations, and Treaties, that bound and other limits between the two States were often changed. In the time of the weakness and declination of the House of *Charlemagne*, most part of the Cities and Lordships of the Empire, did canton themselves, and made themselves particular Dominions under the protection of the Empire, and some remained free, others were subjected to especial Lords, some Lay, some

some Ecclesiastical. All these make up now the great body of the Empire: Of that nature were these three Towns, *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, upon which the French Kings pretended no right till the time of *Henry the II.*

An. 1550. the Protestants of Germany called *Henry the II.* to their help, against the Emperour *Charles the V.* Henry sent them great Auxiliary forces by *Ann de Montmorency* Constable of *France*, who in his way seized upon *Thoul* and *Verdun*, & put Garrisons into them to assure the passage of the French Forces into *Germany*. The Government of *Thoul* was given to *Monsieur d'Esclavoles*, Lieutenant of the company of the Duke of *Guise*. And *Charles* Cardinall of *Lorraine*, was restored to his Lordship, annexed to the Bishoprick of *Verdun*, the King retaining the sovereignty for himselfe, which he thought he could lawfully doe, because the Lord of it was his subject, and had an estate in *France*; and because the Emperour was his declared enemy, whose Estate he might invade. In the same expedition the Constable seized on the City of *Metz*, which the Emperour *Charles the V.* besieged towards the end of the yeare 1551. but in vain, since which time the French have enjoyed these three Cities; yet finding their right somewhat weak, they used it at the first with great moderation, calling themselves

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only Guardians and Protectors of the same, till *Lewis* the XIII. caused them to be altogether incorporated with *France*, and in them hath established a sovereign Court of Parliament.

Indeed these three Townes have of long continuance been Imperial, and being got by subtilty, upon pretence of the surety of the passage, the right of the *French* Kings in them should be much more disputable then in many other places, as themselves have confessed in many of their instructions for the generall Treaties. Yet it may be said for the *French*, that *Henry* the II. took them as his enemies estate, when he made War against the *Emperour*. That the *Emperour* never made since any stipulation for the restitution of them in any Treaty. That the rights of the Empire on this side of *Rhine*, are so vanished and lost, that the Countries seem now to be *primum occupanti*. That *Holland*, also *Lorraine*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, *Franch County*, *Daulphiné*, *Provence*, were Imperiall Lands; and yet all these are split from the Empire by a prescription grounded upon the weakness and neglect of the old Sovereigns. Also that the *French* Kings at the first, declared themselves onely Protectors and Guardians of these Towns: which if afterwards they have incorporated to their State, it was by the consent

sent of the people, seeing themselves deserted and neglected by the Empire. Finally, in that point the *French* think they may use the right of Represals. And that if the Emperour and the House of *Austria* should do them right about all their pretences, there would be some reason why the Emperour should be contented about these Towns.

Paragraphe V.

Of the Towns on the River of Somme, and other contained in the Treaty of Arras.

The four Dukes of the last House of *Burgundy*, were *Philip le Hardy*, *John*, *Philip le Bon*, and *Charles*.

John, after the death of his Father *Philip le Hardy*, an. 1404. caused great troubles in the State of *France*, and caused his Cousin German, *Lewis Duke of Orleans* to be slain, an. 1407. whence sprung those great Divisions and Wars between those two Houses, of which the Histories are full. That *John* was slain at *Montereau fault-Ronne*, by the command of *Charles the Dolphin*, an. 1419. His Son *Philip de Bon*, pursued with great power and eagerness the vengeance of that death, made league with the English, and distressed very much the Kingdom of *France*. In the

end seeing himself ill used by the English, he grew weary of their alliance, and ashamed of the harm which he had done to his Country. Being then contented to agree with the King, he met with him at *Arras*, *An. 1435*. This was called the Treatie of *Arras*, a fundamentall piece of the History of that age, and the following. By that Treaty, after that King *Charles* the VII. in as little dishonorable termes as might be, had asked pardon for the killing of *Duke John*, when he was *Dolphin*, they agreed about many other Articles, and the King gave many pieces belonging to the Crown. The chief were these.

1. He transported to the Duke, and to his Heirs lawfully begotten, the Towns and jurisdictions of *Peronne*, *Roye*, *Mondidier*, to hold them by homage from the Crown, and in Title of Peerdom, to depend of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*.

2. The County of *Artois* was restored unto him on the same Title, with all the impositions amounting to fourteen thousand *Livers. per an.* But of the rights of France upon the County of *Artois*, we shall speak hereafter.

3. He transported to the said Duke the Towns of *Saint Quintin*, *Corbi*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Dourlans*, *Saint Riquier*, *Crevecoeur*, and all the other Towns, Castles, and Lordships

ships seated upon the River of *Somme* on both sides, together with the County of *Ponthien*, and other Lands adjacent to the County of *Flanders*, and Lands of the Empire. All these Towns, Castles, and Lordships, redeemable with the sum of 400000 Crowns. Upon that Treaty all these Towns were delivered to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and all the time of *Charles* the VII. nothing was altered in this agreement.

Lewis the XI. came to the Crown. *An.* 1461: who being unthankfull and malicious, although he had great obligations to the house of *Burgundy*; yet as soon as he came to the Crown, he conceived a great aversion against *Charles* Count of *Charolois*, Son and Heir to *Philip le Bon*, and would recover all those pawned Lordships, arguing the Treaty of *Arras*, of nullity and invalidity, maintaining that his Father could not alienate so many pieces belonging to the State, against the fundamentall Laws. To disingage these Lands, he laid great impositions upon the people, till he had raised the four hundred thousand Crownes, which he caused to be brought to *Abbeville*, and delivered unto the Duke, who soon after delivered all those places unto him. *Charles* Count of *Charolois* took that so heavily, that he almost died for sorrow, and conceived a mortall hatred against the Lord

Croy

of *Croy*, whom he accused to have advised his Father to it. And it was one of the causes of the War of the *publique good*; which having been carried with various success, till the Treaty of *Conflans*, near *Paris*, 1465, the fourth Article whereof was, that the King should give again to the Count of *Charolois*, all the Townes seated upon the River of *Somme*, lately redeemed with 400000. Crowns, to enjoy them all his life time, and besides that, should give him the County of *Guines* for himself and his Heirs for ever. This *Charles*, who was since Duke of *Burgundy*, enjoyed these Lands, though not without Wars and Divisions, against *Lewis* the XI. Finally, *Charles* being dead before *Nancy*, An. 1477. *Lewis* the XI. did suddenly invade the Dutchy of *Burgundy* as a masculin apanage, returning to the Crown, and all the Townes upon the River of *Somme*, which the French have kept ever since. Neither can the house of *Austria* pretend any just right to them as Heir of the house of *Burgundy*; both because *Charles* the VII. had not power to alienate these parts of his State (as his Son *Lewis* the XI. alledged) and because all these Townes had been alienated upon condition of redemption with a certain sum, which was paid by *Lewis* the XI. unto the Duke *Philip*. And if they were restored to the Count of
Cha-

Charolois, it was for his life onely ; Wherefore *Lewis* did not seize upon them, but after the death of *Charles*. At which time also he took *Arras*, of which we will speak hereafter.

Paragraphe VI.
Of the Dutchy of Britain.

The right of the house of *Austria* to the Dutchy of *Britain*, hath more ground then any of the former, and gave matter to many disputes, especially in the time of the *League*; the King of *Spain*, *Philip* the II. representing the rights of his Daughter *Isabella*, both to the Kingdom, and especially to that Dutchy. And when the Duke of *Mercoeur*, who had cantonned himselfe in it (finding himself too weak to maintain his own pretence to it, which was upon another ground) threatned to give entrance to the Spaniards into the Dutchy, *La Guesle* the Kings Atturney Generall, made a long speech to defend the Kings right, of which the summary is this.

i. That *Francis* the II. the last Duke of *Britain* dying An. 1488. left two daughters, *Anna* and *Isabella*. The second died young. The eldest, *Anne*, had the whole succession, and was married first to *Charles* the VIII. of *France*, by whom though she had many children

dren, none outlived the Father: Who being dead, she was married with his successour *Lewis the XII.* by whom she had two Daughters, *Claude* married to *Francis the I.* who by her had *Henry the II.* who was Father to three Kings, *Francis the II.* *Charles the IX.* *Henry the III.* and to *Francis Duke of Alanson*, all which left no issue. He was Father also of *Elizabeth the Third*, Wife of *Philip the II.* King of *Spain*, who by her had the *Infanta Isabella*, Wife to *Archduke Albert*, and Princess of the Low-Countries, died *An. 1633*, and *Catherine, Dutchesse of Savoy.*

2. By the death of *Henry the III.* all the masculine Race of *Valois* was extinct, and the next Heir of that house was *Infanta Isabella*, daughter to *Elizabeth the eldest Sister of Henry the III.* So if there was any Estate in that house inheritable by women, it belonged to *Isabella* without question. *Philip the II.* dealing for his daughter after he was once satisfied, that his pretence to the Crown of *France* in her behalfe was ridiculous, asked that at least the Dutchy of *Britain* should be restored to her, as the Estate w^{ch} her great Grandmother *Anne of Britain* had brought to *Lewis the XII.* an Estate which often had past to Females, saying (as it was true) that she was the next in blood.

To

To these allegations these answers are given.

1. That the Dutchy of *Britain* had been inseparably united wth the Crown, by the coming of *Henry* the II. to the Crown; for it is a fundamentall rule among the French, that a King coming to the Crown, uniteth unto the same all his Estate, both Paternall and Maternall.

2. Besides that tacit and municipall right, to which all contrary pretence must yield; there was an expresse union made An. 1532. at the request of the States Generall of *Britain*, by *Francis* the I. upon condition, that the *Dolphin* should take the Title of *Dolphin of Viennois, Duke of Britain*; which was then practised in the person of the *Dolphin Francis*, but was since neglected. That authenticall union of *Britain* with the Crown, cannot be disputed, since the consent of the whole Province did intervene, and that in all publique busineses, all private rights, must bow and yield to the publique good, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*.

3. Besides, ever since *John* of *Montford* by the battell of *Aray* An. 1364. remained Master of the Dutchy, and excluded *Jane* his Cousen-German, Wife to *Charles de Blois*, objecting that she was a woman, and that women vvere not capable Heirs of Estates of that

that nature; Since that time, I say it may be affirmed that Females were excluded from the succession of *Britain*. And that if *Anne*, Wife to the two Kings, *Charles* the VII. and *Lewis* the XII. was admitted to it, it was by toleration; For by right, after the death of *Francis* the last Duke, the Dutchy was devolved to the Crown. And truly, *Francis* the last Duke, by his great revolts, had given sufficient cause to the Kings of *France*, his Sovereigns to deprive him of his Estate.

4. The French also may here set up the right of *Aubeine*, which excludeth strangers, & admitted none but *regnicola*, inhabitants of the Kingdom to successions. Which must especially be observed in great Estates and most of all in those that owe a *liege homage*. For whereas the Duke of *Britain* did owe personal service to the King; how can a woman born in *Spain*, tyed with blood and interesse unto a house alwaies jealous, and often declared Enemy of the State of *France*, perform that part of her duty to the Crown? a duty absolutely necessary for the preservation of the body of the State unto which the establishing of all *Fees* must have regard.

6. The French may deale besides with the house of *Austria* by right of *represals*. For since that house withholds so many Dutchies.

ies, and Counties from the Crown of *France*, without any recompence or satisfaction; they think not themselves bound to give ear to their pretences upon so little ground.

Second Point

Of the third Chapter.

The pretences of the house of France, upon that of Austria.

A Book was publisht *An. 1634.* intituled *Inquisition of the rights of the King and Crown of France, upon the Kingdoms, Dutchies, Countries, Towns, and Countries usurped by foreign Princes upon the most Christian Kings*, composed by *Cassan* the Kings Advocate in the *Presidial of Beziers*; wherein all that we have to say of this matter, is fully and curiously set down: Which though we will but summarily relate; yet we hope to adde something to it both for order and matter. Wee will stand here only upon those rights which are disputed against the house of *Austria*, and the Empire; both because it is our present businesse, and because all other claims are stale and of small importance.

All the pretences of the French upon the possessions of the house of *Austria*, are either
antient

antient and almost worn out, as the pretences upon *Castilia, Portugal, Arragon, Catalonia*; or later and important, upon Dominions to which they maintaine their rights, and claime them from time to time, to hinder a prescription; joyning to their claim active prosecution by armes.

Though I might omit those first pretences as too stale, yet I will here set them down among the rest, for the information of curious Readers.

All the pretences either new or old of the *French* upon the *Spaniard*, are either within or without *Spain*.

In that *Peninsula*, called *Spain*, inclosed within the great Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, and the *Pyrenees*, since the invasion of the *Saracens*, an. 713. there hath been a great number of petty States under the Title of Kingdomes, Dutchies, Counties, &c. into which that great Province was divided, either by the *Moores* when they conquered the Land, or by the *Christians* when they reconquered it; and it is but a hundred and fifty yeares, since there was yet five remarkable distinct soveraignties in *Spain*, *Castilia, Arragon, Navarra, Portugal, and Granada*, four of which *Castilia, Arragon, Navarra, and Granada* were united by *Ferdinand* the Catholique. *Portugal* came to the House of *Austria*, an. 1580.

1580. under *Philip* the II. (for here I speake not yet of the revolt of the *Portugais* and *Catalans*, which hath cut off two considerable limbs of that great body, of which we will say more before we have done) This is not a fit place to examine how these severall States were founded, and how united as they are now. We consider onely that there be six pieces within *Spain*, upon which the *French* have pretences, *Castilia*, *Portugal*, *Navarra*, *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, and the County of *Roussillon*. And out of *Spain* they claim a right to the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Dutchie of *Milan*, the Common-wealth of *Genoa*, and the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*. ;

Paragraphe I.

Of the Kingdome of Castilia.

The *Saracens* *Moores*, having invaded *Spain* an. 713, were manfully opposed by two Catholique Princes, *Inigo Imenes*, surnamed *Arista*, Count of *Bigorre*, who conquered upon them part of the *Pyrenees*, and founded the little Kingdom of *Suprarba*, called afterward *Navarra*. The other Prince was *Don Pelagus*, Uncle or Cousin to King *Rodriguez*, dispossessed before by the *Saracens*. This Prince founded a Kingdom towards *Asturia*, called *Gallicia* or *Leon*, or the Kingdom
of

of *Oviedo*. He, and his Descendants, and people, stretching themselves towards the plains, recovered the Country as farre as the Strait of *Gibraltar*, and built many Castles upon their Frontier to keepe out the *Saracens*. Whence the Country was called *Castilia*, which remained under the subjection of the Kings of *Oviedo*, till the year 896. when the *Castilians* incensed against their King *Procla*, who had usurped the State of his Nephews, cantonned themselves, and chose two sovereign Judges. The two first were *Nugno Rastro*, and *Flavio Galvo*. But about 40 years after, an. 939. *Sanchez* King of *Oviedo* and *Leon*, made himsele Master of *Castilia*, and reunited it unto the Kingdom of *Oviedo* where it remained, till *Dom Sanchez*, surnamed the Great, King of *Navarra*, who had *Castilia* by his Wife, made that famous partage between his three Sons, giving *Navarra* to *Garcias* his eldest Son; to *Ferdinando*, *Castilia* and *Leon*; and to *Ramires* his bastard, *Arragon*. That partage was about the yeare 1036. which is the date of the birth and distinction of those three States in *Spain*. From that *Ferdinand* King of *Castilia*, descended long after *Alphonfus* the IX. the Father of three Children, one Son called *Henry*, and two Daughters, *Blanch* and *Berengera*. *Henry* reigned after his Father, and dyed without issue. *Blanch* was

was married to *Lewis* the VIII. King of *France* and was mother of *St Lewis*. *Berengera* was married to *Alphonfus* the IX. King of *Leon*.

After the death of *Henry*, *Blanch* as the eldest, was the undoubted Heir of *Castilia*, and *Berengera* had no right to it being the yongest. Yet because *Berengera* was within the Country, and *Blanch* lived in *France* very farre, she seized upon the state, and with it invested her Son *Ferdinand*, although many of the *Grande*s opposed it, standing for the right of *Blanch*, which caused great troubles till *St. Lewis* to whom *Castilia* belonged after his Mother, thus composed the difference.

Ferdinand, the usurper of *Castilia* over *Blanch* and *St Lewis*, was Father of *Alphonfus* the X. King of *Castilia* and *Leon*, against whom *St Lewis* having an Action for *Castilia* one of the two Kingdoms, married his Daughter *Blanch*, Grand-daughter of *Blanch* the inheritrice of *Castilia*, an. 1267. with *Ferdinand*, furnamed, *De la Cerda*, eldest Son to that *Alphonfus* the X. By the contract of marriage, it was agreed that *S. Lewis* yielded all his rights over *Castilia*, to his Daughter *Blanch*, and her Children after her; upon which conditions performed, *France* lost her claime upon that Kingdome; but that *Ferdinand de la Cerda* dyed before his Father *Alphonfus*, and his younger

ger Brother *Sanchez* usurped the Crown, depriving his Nephews, Sons to *Ferdinand* and *Blanch*, of their right. From that usurper *Sanchez*, all the Kings of *Spain* to this day are descended. From the dispossessed Children of *Ferdinand* and *Blanch* of *France*, is descended the House of the Dukes of *Medina Coeli*, who retaining still the memory of that degradation, and of their birth-right over the family of *Sanchez*, make their protestations at every change of State, that if the family now reigning should fail, they might enter upon their right.

Out of that discourse, four things doe result for our purpose.

1. That after the death of *Henry* King of *Castilia*, all the right of the Kingdome belonged to his sister *Blanch*, and after her, to her Son *St Lewis*; and that *Berengera* the younger sister of *Blanch*, and her Son *Ferdinand*, were usurpers.

2. That *St Lewis* indeed yeelded his rights by the contract of marriage between *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, and his Daughter *Blanch*. One might say, that it was more then he could doe; for the rights of the Crown cannot be alienated. But they had not then such absolute maxims, and were not so jealous as now of preserving the union of States, which in those dayes were often divided, exchanged,

ged, bought and sold. And St Lewis sufficiently perceived the impossibility of governing the *French* and the *Castilians* together.

3. But that Cession was conditionall, requiring that the Children of *Ferdinand* and *Blanch*, should inherit the Crown. That condition having been violated by the usurpation of *Sanchez*, younger Brother to *Ferdinand*, and the poor Princes, Children to *Ferdinand* and *Blanch*, being disinherited and proscribed, that cession of St Lewis becomes void by right, and the claim of the *French* might be good, if it was not somewhat too old.

4. At least all that Right of St Lewis remains with the descendants of *Ferdinand* and *Blanch*, the Dukes of *Medina Coeli*, for they have double right, the one from *Ferdinand*, as elder Brother to *Sanchez*; the other from *Blanch*, to whom her Father St Lewis had conferred his right. And if the House of *Medina Coeli* would prosecute it, they should be well grounded, and the *French* Kings might defend their claim very justly, as their successors and fetching their right from them.

Paragraphe II.

Of the Kingdome of Portugal.

Portugal, a part of the old *Lusitania*, is one of the Provinces of *Spain*, near the great O-

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cean under *Gallicia*, between the Rivers of *Duerno Minio*, and *Tajo*: To which also belongs a little State, called the Kingdom of *Algarba*, which is the point of the *Cap St Vincent*, next to the Isle of *Cadiz*, and the *Straits of Gibraltar*. That Country was wasted and conquered by the *Saracens*, as the rest of *Spain*, by that great inundation of those barbarous Nations, *an. 713.*

All the Christian Princes, and all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdomes of the West, (even after the time of *Charlemagne*, and *Lewis the Meek*, who were there in person) very willingly went to make Warre in *Spain*, against these *Saracen Moores*. Especially *an. 1090.* a little before the enterprise of the holy Warre, *Philip the I.* reigning in *France*, & *Alphonfus the VIII.* in *Spain*; many Princes and Noblemen confederated themselves, and went into *Spain* against them. The most eminent was *Henry*, of the first Royal House of *Burgundy*; for although there hath been much dispute about his Origine, now all Historians acknowledge that he was Grandchild to *Robert*, Brother to King *Henry the I.*, who had *Burgundy* given him for his *apanage*. This *Henry* of *Burgundy*, having done great exploits against the *Moores*, married *Teresa*, naturall Daughter of *Alphonfus*, who gave her for her portion the Townes of *Coimbra*,
Braga,

Braga, and others in *Portugal*, with forces to conquer the rest, of which he quitted himself so well, that he expelled the Infidels from great part of *Portugal*, of which he was called *Comes* or *Count*, and no other title did he bear all his life time. He dyed *an.* 1112. and left a Son named *Alphonsus*, who took *Lisbone*, and much Country besides, and was called the first King of *Portugal*, *an.* 1139. From that *Alphonsus* is descended the whole House of *Portugal*, till the death of *Henry* the Cardinall King, *an.* 1580. at which time *Portugal* was united with *Spain*.

The great difficulty about the succession of that Kingdom, whether it belong to the house of *Spain*, or to that of *Braganza*, or to that of *Parma*, is nothing to this purpose. It hath wearied the reasoning of the greatest Politicians for threescore yeares, and finally hath ended in a generall revolt of *Portugal*, and a bloody War. Certainly, although such as are most jealous of the growth of *Spaine*, will vote for the House of *Braganza*, and that of *Parma*, the question is not without difficulty.

But *France* hath a further pretence to the Kindom of *Portugal*, for which we must remount higher. *Alphonsus* the II, King of *Portugal*, had two Sons, *Sanchez* the II, surnamed *Capel*, and *Alphonsus*. *Sanchez* reigned

after his Father, but with small vigour, and was despised by his subjects. *Alphonfus* living then in the Court of *St Lewis*, where he received much honour, as being his kinsman by *Blanch* of *Castilia* the Kings Mother. By his meanes he married *Mahaut* of *Dampmartin*, Widow to a Prince of the blood, an. 1235: and by her had Children. The people of *Portugal* weary of their King *Sanchez*, desired *Alphonfus* to come home, and take the tuition of the State, which he did, leaving his wife *Mahaut* in *France*. And his Brother being degraded and himselfe made King, he forgot his wife and children in *France*, and married *Beatrix*, naturall Daughter of *Alphonfus* the IX King of *Castilia*, who gave her for her portion the Kingdom of *Algarba*. Because his first wife was living, that 2^d marriage was accounted unlawful; yea, *Alphonfus* was excommunicated for it by *Pope Alexander* the IV. and hated by all the Princes; and *Mahaut* coming into *Spain*, made a heavy complaint against him. Who was so hardened in that sin, that he protested that if a hundred wives would have him, he would marry them all. Yet being a great Warriour, and a wise and prosperous King, he maintained himself by the love of his subjects, insomuch that *Mahaut* being dead, the Bishops of *Portugal* obtained his absolution of *Urban* the IV. and the

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confirmation of that second marriage of which he had Children. One of them, and his successour, was *Denis, Alphonsus* being dead, an. 1279. From that *Denis* are descended all the Kings of *Portugal* to this day.

Some of the *French* Historians affirme, that *Mahaut* had two Sons by *Alphonsus* in *France*, the one that dyed young, the other *Robert*, from whom the whole House of the Counts of *Bullen* is descended, which fell to *Magdalen de la Cour*, wife to *Laurens of Medicis*, by whom came *Katherine de Medicis*, mother of the three late *French* King, *Francis* the II. *Charles* the IX, and *Henry* the III, after whose death (by the substitution set downe before in the contract betweene her and *Henry* the II,) the inheritance of *Katherine* came to her Daughter Queen *Margaret*, first Wife to *Henry* the IV. That Queen made the *Dolphin* of *France* her Heir, who since was *Lewis* the XIII.

When the dispute for the succession of *Portugal* was open, after the death of *Henry* the Cardinal King an. 1570, *Katherine* Queen of *France*, among other pretenders to that Crown, set forth her claim by *Belloy*, Advocate Generall in the Parliament of *Toulouse*, who pleaded that from the marriage of *Alphonsus* and *Mahaut*, a Son was born called *Robert*, and had succeeded in all his rights,

that *Beatrix* was the Concubine, not the wife of *Alphonsus*; and that the Pope could not legitimate *Denis* born of adultery, to the prejudice of *Robert* the true Heir of *Alphonsus*. Also that all the Kings that had reigned since *Denis* for three hundred years, made no prescription, because there can be no prescription for the right of Kingdoms. That right being propounded to the Estates of *Portugal*, was found too old and stale, and injurious to all their Kings; neither did they make any account of it. Besides, the Spanish Historians affirm, that *Alphonsus* had no issue by *Mahaut*, and that among the protestations which *Mahaut* made in *Portugal* against *Alphonsus*, there is not one word of the injury which he did to her children, which she would not have forgot if she had had any: Yet that right may be defended by the testimony of the French Historians, and by this true allegari-
on, that neither a bastard nor his Descent can prescribe against the lawfull Heirs.

Paragraphe III.

Of the Kingdom of Navarra.

An. 713. when the Saracens invaded *Spain*, *Inigo*, *Ximenes*, *Arista*, Count of *Bigorre* gave a beginning to the little Kingdome of *Suprarba* within the *Pyrenees*, which a while after
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having spread into the vales, tooke the name of *Navarra* or *Navieras*, which in old Spanish signifieth plain grounds. It is certain, that two generous Princes, and great Catholiques resisted the Saracens in the very beginning of their invasion. *Pelagius* towards the *Astures* which are *Leon* and *Gallicia*, and this *Ximenes Arista* towards the *Pyrenees*; though the date of the Conquests of this *Ximenes* be not so certain; some Historians make him latter. Upon which one may read the History of *Navarra* written by *Favin*.

2. These Kings of *Navarra* in their beginnings, made many Conquests over the Saracens; and that Family continued to *Sanchez* the great, who about the year 1035. shared all his Estates among his three Sons, of whom the eldest *Garcias*, had *Navarra*; to whom many Kings succeeded, till that State fell to the house of *France*, by the marriage of *Philip le Bel*, with *Jane* Inheritrix of *Navarra*, Countesse of *Campaign* and *Brie*, to whom *Lewis Hutin*, King of *France* and *Navarra*, succeeded in her Estates. But he having no child but a daughter, called *Jane*, which could not be Queen of *France*, he left her *Navarra* and so that State was soon separated from that of *France*. That *Jane* married *Philip* of the Royal branch of *Eureux*.

3. By that marriage, the house of *Navarra*

became a Royall French house; but the nature of that Crown being to fall to women, as the other States of *Spain*, it passed not long after into the Family of *Arragon* by marriage, and so again into the Family of *Castilia*, and again into the Family of *Foix*, after this manner.

4. *Charles* the III. King of *Navarre*, Grandchild to that *Jane*, daughter to *Lewis Hutin* had one onely daughter called *Blanch*, married to *John*, Prince and afterwards King of *Arragon*. From that marriage came *Charles* Prince of *Viana*, who got a great, but an ill renown in the Histories of *Spain*, for making War to his Father, and maintaining himself against him in his State after his mothers death. That Prince of great learning and courage, died a batchelour. The two other children of *John* of *Arragon*, and *Blanch* of *Navarra* were two daughters. The eldest *Blanch* of *Arragon*, who having been married with *Henry* the IV. King of *Castilia*, surnamed the *Impotent*, was separated from him, by reason of his impotency, and died without issue. The other was *Eleanor*, wife to *Gaston* the IV. Count of *Foix*, who after the death of her Father, Mother, Brother, and Sister, succeeded to the Kingdom of *Navarra*, and united it to the house of *Foix*. She enjoyed it but two months and a half, and died, *An.* 1469.

Her

Her eldest Son, *Gaston Prince of Viana*, being already dead, and having left, by his wife *Magdalen*, daughter to *Charles the VII. of France*, two children, *Francis Phoebus*, who succeeded his Grandfather in the Kingdome of *Navarra*, but enjoyed it but four years, and died unmarried; and *Catherine de Foix*, who succeeded him, and married *John d' Albret*, Son to *Alen d' Abret*, a man of great note in *Gascony*, but not of a soveraign house; yet descended from that *Amani d' Albret*, who in the time of *Charles the V. of France*, married *Magaret of Bourbon*, Sister to *Jane*, Queen of *France*, and raised his house to a great splendour by that royal alliance, & advanced much the party of the French against the English.

5. *John of Albret*, and *Catherine de Foix*, had a Son called *Henry*, who was King of *Navarra*, and married *Margaret*, Sister to *Francis the first of France*, by whom he had *Jane*, Inheritrix of *Navarra*; *Jane* being married to *Antony of Bourbon*, was by him Mother of *Henry the IV. of France*, Father to *Lewis the XIII.*, and Grandfather to *Lewis the XIV.* Thus that house of *Navarra* was united with two great houses in *France*; yet not Royal; that of *Foix* and that of *Albret*, and after to the Royal house of *Bourbon*, and became so powerfull in *France*, that her possessions from these three houses much exceeded the Kingdome

dome of *Navarra*. Hence it is manifest, how the last Kings of *Navarra* by the interesse of their Alliance, and Estate were obliged to follow the party of *France*. Now it hapned, An. 1510. after that *Lewis the XII.* had humbled the *Venerians* by the victory of *Aignadel*, and brought terrour among all the Princes of *Italy*, that Pope *Julius the II.* fell out with *Lewis*, and prosecuted the quarrell with such animosity, (*Lewis* on the other side, being as fierce as he) that the contention grew almost into a Schism: *Julius* excommunicated all that took part with *Lewis*, and put an interdict (as they call it) upon their Estates. *Lewis* maintained himself against his fulminations, both by an Assembly of his Prelates at *Tours*, who cleared the obligations of the Kings conscience, as his History speaks, and especially by armes, whereby he repress all the invaders of his State, and put them to the defence of their own. But *John d' Albret*, and *Catherine of Navarra*, were expelled from their State by *Ferdinand the Catholique*, who making a shew to passe into *Guienne* to join with the English, and seize upon the Kingdom of *France*, by vertue of the Papall interdict, suddenly turned upon *Navarra*, and took it, An. 1512. both because *John d' Albret* was united with the French King, who was a rebell against the Church, and an Enemy to the English,

with

with whom *Ferdinand* had alliance; also because the Spaniards hold that there was a tacit agreement between the Kings of *Spain*, not to suffer that any of the Spanish Crowns should fall into forrain hands, or into houses not soveraign, as those of *Foix* and *Albret*. As the reason and pretence of that invasion, was leight and groundlesse, the French stand to their right to this day, against that manifest, invasion, and hinder the prescription by arms Treaties and Protestations.

Paragraphe IV.

Of the Kingdome of Arragon.

Cassan in his Book of the rights of the Crown of France, with more zeal than judgement will ground those rights upon conquests 800. years old, and antient expeditions of the French Kings into *Spain*, where they took some Towns of *Navarra*, *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, not considering the many changes of successions in so many years. The Conquests of *Catalonia* and *Arragon* by *Charlemagne*, give to the French no more right there in these times, than those of *Cæsar* in France to the now Emperours.

The rights of the French over *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, & *Roussillon*, which have some ground, may be reduced to two heads.

The

The first is how *Charles Count of Anjou* Brother to *Saint Lewis*, was invested with the Kingdome of the *two Sicilies*, against the children of the Emperour *Friderick the II.* *Peter* King of *Arragon*, who had married *Constance*, daughter to *Manfred*, bastard of *Frederick*, claiming that Kingdome from his wife, made those bloody *Sicilian Vespers* *An. 1281.* An action which did incense the whole Christendome against that *Peter*, well surnamed the *cruell*; Pope *Martin the IV.* especially a Frenchman by Birth and affection, who excommunicated *Peter*, and put his Kingdome in interdict. Not only by the general maxime of the Popes, that in certain cases they have power over the temporals of Kings; but because *Arragon* hath been, of great antiquity, a *Fee* of the Church of *Rome*. So the Pope dealt with that perfidious King as Sovereign of *Arragon*. To that purpose he sent a Legat into *France* which offered the Kingdome of *Arragon* to King *Philip le Hardy* for his Son *Charles, Count of Valois*. Whereupon *Philip* assembled the States Generall at *Paris*, accepted the Popes gift, and undertook the War against *Peter*; took *Arragon, Catalonia, & Valentia*, and invested his Son *Charles* with these Kingdomes, paying five hundred Livers yearly to the See of *Rome*. It is true that after these Conquests, King *Philip*, as he returned

"Philip 3^d King
of France.

"See in the
French
history
y^e occasion of Philips death, caused by an unexpected
onset.

into France, dyed at *Perpignan*, and the French soon after lost all that Country. Yet their right, if they had any by the donation of the Pope, remained as good as before.

But the *Spaniards* contradict that right, saying, that in the time of the greatest confusions about that quarrel, a marriage was made between that *Charles de Valois* pretended King of *Arragon*, and *Margaret* daughter to *Charles* the II, King of *Naples*. To which *Margaret* the Counties of *Anjou* and *Maine* were given for her portion (which had been in the possession of *Charles* brother to *St Lewis*, and by him united to the Kingdome of *Naples*) with this proviso, That though *Margaret* should die without issue, *Charles* should possess these Counties, yeelding all his right and claim to the Kingdome of *Arragon*, which *Charles* did, and so that great difference was ended.

The second head whence the claim of the French upon *Arragon* doth arise, regards the second House of *Anjou*. The second Son of King *John* of France, was *Lewis*, who was invested with the Dutchy of *Anjou*; A Prince well known in Histories, as he that was made regent of France, in the Minority of *Charles* the VI. and after invested with the Kingdome of *Naples* by *Queen Jane the first*; a right which

which he prosecuted, and perisht in the prosecution. But he left the title to his Children. His Son *Lewis* the II, married *Roland* daughter to *John* the I, King of *Arragon*, and of *Roland* of *Bar* his wife. The eldest sister of that *Roland*, wife to *Lewis* the II, of *Anjou*, which was *Jane* Countess of *Foix*, being dead without issue, and no childe remaining of *John* of *Arragon*, but that *Roland* Dutcheß of *Anjou*, she was the undoubted Heir of that State; but her Uucle *Martin*, Duke of *Montblanc*, seized upon it. *Lewis* sent the Bishop of *Couferans* to represent his right. And when after the death of *Martin*, he would dispute his right by the sword, he was perswaded to put the businesse to an arbitrement; for the Peers and people of the Kingdome of *Arragon*, had chosen arbitrators to umpire the businesse between *Lewis* and *Martin*, and examine the claimes of other pretenders. And though the Umpires were almost all *Arragones*; they would not prononnce any thing, so that quarrel remained undecided. And after the death of two *Martins*, Father and Son, the Arbitration being renewed, nine Arbitrators deferred the Kingdome to *Ferdinand* Brother to *Henry* the III. King of *Castilia*. That sentence was confirmed by the Anti-pope *Benedict* the XIII. who being forsaken almost by all the world, had taken sanctuary in *Arragon*. Against

gainst the nullity of that sentence, the Children of *Roland*, *Lewis* the III, of *Anjou* and *René*, did protest. Yea, the Children of *René* make War in *Arragon*, to recover it in the time of *Lewis* the XI, of *France*; but they were constrained to forsake all, and *Arragon* remained with the usurpers unto this day. Yet I see not that the *French* urge much that claim, being somewhat too old to be now revived.

Paragraphe V.

Of Catalonia.

The like may be said of *Catalonia*, which is a great Province of *Spain*, bounded on the East and South with the Mediterranean Sea, and on the other sides with *Valentia*, *Arragon*, and *Roussillon*. It was both before the Romans and under them, part of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, as *Arragon* and other Countries near the River of *Ebro*. Since which time being conquered by the *Goths* and *Alans* together, it was called by them *Gottalania*, which name was since corrupted to *Catalaunia*. It was under the Kings of the *Goths*, till the invasion of the *Saracens*, an. 713. who made themselves Masters of it, as of most part of *Spain*; But *Charlemagne* took it from them, and all the Country near the River of *Ebro*, about the year 800. expelling *Zaron* the

Moore

Moore out of Barcellona, and put a French Garrison in it; not long after he gave it to Bernard, who was the first Count of Catalonia, and was a powerfull and considerable man in the Court of Lewis the Meek; and the Counts of that Province, who then were but Gouverours, were a long time ordinary Courtiers and Attendants of the French Kings. But by the idlenesse of the last descent of Charlemagne, the Governours of Provinces, and of this among the rest, made themselves Masters.

Amo Dom. 1017. About the beginning of the third Race of the French Kings, the Family that ruled in Catalonia, was that of the Beringers. And that County was alwayes separate from the Kingdom of Arragon, till the yeare 1131, when Don Alphonso King of Arragon, surnamed the Bellador, because he fought twenty two battels, being dead without issue, the people of Arragon tooke Ramires out of the Cloister of St. Pontius of Tomieres, where he had lived forty yeares a Monk, because he was of the Royal blood, and Son to Sanchez Ramires, King of Arragon. He was married by a dispensation of Anaclet the II, Pope, or rather Anti-pope, and had a Daughter named Petronilla, married to Raymond Berenger, Count of Catalonia. So Arragon and Catalonia were united, and never separated since. James King of Arragon (No sabe la volpeya, Con quien tropeya) Foxes knowe not with whom they dally.

King of *Arragon*, an. 1320. by the advice of the State of the Land, made the Law of union of the three Provinces, *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Catalonia*, not to be posselt separately any more. Together with that Law, *Catalonia* agreed with the King of *Arragon*, that she should have her forces and priviledges apart; and that the Kings of *Arragon*, who took only the title of Counts of *Catalonia*, should oblige themselves by oath to observe that condition. This precaution of the *Catalans* bath justified their later revolt, which the most conscionable among them have yeelded unto, acknowledging that their King had violated that Treaty.

It is a constant truth, that all that time, from the conquest of *Charlemagne*, *Catalonia*, was a *Fee* depending from France; *Charlemagne* made the first Counts of it, who were his Courtiers. The first upon whom it was settled, as a French *Fee*, was *Geffery le Velu*, invested by *Charles le Gros*, an. 885. And *Bera* Count of *Catalonia*, being accused of felony before *Lewis le Begue* offered to purge himselfe by a Duell after the manner of the time, in which being overcome, he was deprived of his *Fee*, and another invested with it.

All that time also, all the publique Acts of Notaries in *Catalonia*, were done in the

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name

name of the Kings of *France*, which is an undoubted mark of Supremacy, and all the Kings of *Arragon*, Counts of *Catalonia*, did homage for it to the Kings of *France*, till the year 1181. and in the beginning of *Philip* the Conquerour, when *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon* called a Councill at *Tarragona*, a Town of *Catalonia*, where under colour of conscience and respect to Religion, he caused an Order to be made, that from thenceforth the yeares of the French Kings should no more be put in the Deeds and Contracts of *Catalonia*, but the yeares of Christ. And the same King having neglected that homage to the Kings of *France*, that right was lost under *Philip* ^{father} *Auguste*, *Lewis* ^{son} the VIII. and *St Lewis* ^{grand child}, the claim onely remaining. In which consideration, likely the Princes of *Arragon* were educated in the Court of *France*; one of them was *James*, who lived in the time of *St. Lewis*, and had been educated with "*Philip le Hardy*, who being come to visit that King, and having given him his siter *Isabella* to wife; the *Spaniards* say, that by reason of that match, and the cession which *James* made to *Philip* of the Town of *Montpellier*, and of some other Lands which he possesse in *Languedoc*; the said King *Philip* quitted all his right of supremacy over *Arragon* and *Catalonia*. That Treaty was an. 1270, by which the *Spaniards*

Philip Augustus, or
Philip 2 of
France who
began to reign
A.D. 1181.

Philip 3. son
of Lewis 9. com-
monly called
St Lewis

ards conceive that they have shaken the yoke of French Sovereignty. But whether that Treaty be valid or no, either for the fact or the right, that cession being above 380 years old, it seems authentically, and the French have given over that claim.

But they have another of latter date. For by reason of the massacre made in the *Sicilian Vespers*, an. 1281. Peter King of Arragon, Count of *Catalonia*, was excommunicated, & his Lands put in interdict, and given to *Philip le Hardy*, by *Martin the IV*, Pope, or to his Son Count of *Valois*; but that right being the same, as the right which the French claime, or did claim upon Arragon, of which we spake lately, we will not here repeat.

So the French rights over *Catalonia*, are reduced to these two heads. The first is taken from the conquest of *Charlemagne*, the establishing of Counts and Governours in the same, the homage done to the Kings of France, the years of their reign ascribed in their deeds both private and publique. The other is the same, as is pretended upon Arragon. Of both, the French make no great account. Onely because of late years, *Catalonia* hath shaken the yoke of the Kings of Arragon and *Castilia*, and have given themselves to the French; it may be disputed, whether the French King may use any of

these old stale Titles, or whether he must ground the justice of his possession upon the donation which the *Catalans* have made to him, holding themselves free from the obedience of the Spaniard, by reason of the infraction of their priviledges. Certainly in all particular Treaties, the unobservance of the conditions, freeth the parties from the obligations of the contract. But as for Sovereignties, and the mutual obligations of Kings and Subjects, many will reason otherwise; saying, that although the obligation be mutual as for the conscience; yet as for the retrocession and the penalty attending the breach of the obligation, it doth not reach to Kings, whose actions are not censurable by the people; not by the nature of the contract which is mutual and reciprocally, but for the danger of the consequence which might authorize revolts. Others also will say, that a Country giving her selfe to a Prince, what priviledges soever the people reserve to themselves by contract, they are all lost when they enter into subjection, which by its nature makes a man subject to another man without any exception, when the publique good is concerned; & that those priviledges by that subjection, passe into the nature of meer liberties and concessions of Princes, which they may stretch, diminish, and over-throw, according to their
dis-

discretion. Certainly in all these contentions between the people, and the Sovereign passion and interests bear a great sway, & make conscience plead on both sides. But any reason will passe when there is strength to back it.

Paragraphe VI.

Of the County of Roussillon and
Sardinia.

That little Country at the foot of the Pyrenees, and near the golph of Leon, was antiently part of *Languedoc*, and for a long time past through the same fortunes and changes. It was for a great while part of the County of *Beziers*, and Dutchy of *Narbon*. Then it came into the hands of particular Counts, which failing, the Country fell to the Counts of *Catalonia*. How, and in what time precisely, I find not. Onely I find that in the time of *St Lewis*, *Alphonsus* his Brother, Count of *Toulouse*, and the King of *Arragon*, being in suit about the County of *Roussillon*, *St Lewis* was chosen Umpire, as bearing himselfe for Sovereign of both, who therefore ought to be their Judge, and he did adjudge it to the King of *Arragon* against his own Brother. It seems that holy King acknowledged the justice of their possession. For as that County

was united with that of *Barcelonia*, it was held also by the same right.

Since the union of these with the Crown of *Arragon*, it ran the same fortune with *Arragon*, and was conquered by *Philip le Hardy*, by vertue of the Interdict of Pope *Martin* the IV. *Philip* died at *Perpignan*, and soon after, all was lost, and quited by *Charles de Valois* his second Son. But of that right, & all the pre-
tences of the house of *Anjou* upon *Roussillon*, as upon *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, the French themselves make no great account.

But upon *Roussillon*, the French have a Title altogether singular. *John King of Arragon*, that lived in the time of *Lewis the XI. of France*, being in War with his subjects of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, as maintainers of his Son, *Charles Prince of Vienna*, and the true Heir of *Navarra* against him, and finding his Subjects too hard for him, as assisted by *Henry, King of Castilia*; desired *Lewis the XI.* to assist him, which he did with great might, having sent him a good Army under the conduct of *Charles d' Armagnac, Duke of Nemours*, who confirmed the Crown to *John*, and composed the difference between him and his Subjects. At which time, *John* engaged the County of *Roussillon*, and the Town of *Perpignan* unto *Lewis the XI.* for three hundred thousand Crownes which he bor-
row-

rowed of him, *Lewis*, notwithstanding many treacheries and attempts of the *Arrageneſe*, maintained himſelf in that Country, and *Charles the VII.* his Son after him, untill the deſign of the Conqueſt of *Naples*.

It was in the year 1492. that *Charles the VIII.* began the enterpriſe of *Naples*. And fearing leaſt *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, Son to that *John* would aſſiſt the houſe of *Naples*, which was a branch of that of *Arragon*; or ſhould enter into *France* in his abſence, he returned unto him that County of *Rouſſillon*, gratis, not quitting, but not demanding the three hundred thouſand Crowns; the King of *Arragon* having promiſt, and ſworn upon the holy Croſſe, and upon the Goſpels, that hee would ſerve the King againſt all his Enemies in that expedition of *Italy*. The Governour of *Perpignan* did not yield, but after many iterated commands, ſeeing the importance of that reſtitution, and fearing the infidelity of *Arragon*. The French Hiſtorians blame *James Maillert*, a Franciſcan Frier, Confeſſour to *Charles the VIII.* ſaying, he was won by *Ferdinand* to perſwade the King to that reſtitution. But *Ferdinand* inſtead of helping *Charles* in his expedition of *Italy*, helped his Enemies in *Italy*, and diſturbed his enterpriſe of *Naples*. Since which time, the French have often redemanded that County, as not redeemed

with the three hundred thousand Crowns, and represented that they were circumvented by *Ferdinand*; but in vain, till finally the sword hath done what reason and justice could not. *Perpignan* being besieged, and taken by *Lewis* the XIII. of late years.

Thus of those six rights which the French pretend within the limits of *Spain*. Those of *Castilia*, *Portugal*, and *Arragon*, are old and stale. That of *Navarra* is in its full force by their ordinary protestations. That of *Catalonia* and *Roussillon* are no more pretended rights, the French having the real possession of them.

Paragraphe, VII.

Of the Kingdom of Naples.

Out of the limits of *Spain* the French have three great pretences upon the house of *Austria*. 1. Upon the Kingdom of *Naples*. 2. Upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Commonwealth of *Genoa*. 3. Upon the Counties of *Flanders* & *Artois*. Because they pretend that these rights are in their full force, they must be exactly examined. Wee will begin at *Naples*.

1. That part of *Italie* which is beyond *Câpagna de Roma*, and comprehends these ancient Provinces, *Samnium*, *Appulia*, *Hydruntum*, *Magna Græcia*, *Campania*, *Calabria*, and others; all these, I say, which is well nigh
[one

one half of *Italie*, make up the Kingdome of *Naples*.

Compania, now *Terra di Lavoro*, the River of *Aufidus*, now *Ofanto* in *Puglia*, and the River of *Liris* now *Cantigliano* near *Capua*, were made the limits between the Empires of the East and West, An. 803. *Nicephorus* then being the Emperour of the East, and *Charlemagne* of the West. So that part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and all that is on this side of the two Rivers remained with the Empire of the West. The part beyond them with the Iland of *Sicily*, remained with the Emperour of the East.

Not long after, the *Saracens* invaded *Italie*. The height of their fury, was about the year 850. and in the parts about *Sicily*, and *Sicily* it self, where they settled themselves. And for many Ages, those Countries were the sad stage, where the *Latins* on the one side, and the *Greekes* on the other, and the *Saracens* enemies to both, acted a bloody Tragedy.

2. About the year 1000, forty *Norman* Gentlemen returning from the Pilgrimage of the *Holy Land*, gave a powerfull assistance to the *Christians* of the Kingdome of *Naples* against the *Saracens*, and being returned home, undertook not long after an expedition to *Naples* with more might, under the conduct of *Tristan Cistel*, a *Norman*. These gave the beginning

in Latine Terra
laboratoris
* Canna flood
near it, where
Hannibal gave
the Romans that
memorable defeat

ginning to the State of *Naples*, partly by conquest, partly by marriage, under the names of the Counts of the *Crosse of Puglia*, and *Dukes of Calabria*, and in time advancing their conquests as far as *Sicily*, they were crowned Kings of the same. To that Family of *Normans*, succeeded that of the *Germans* in the persons of *Henry the VI.* and *Friderick the II.* Emperours and Kings of *Naples*. That *Friderick* being fallen into the hatred of the *See of Rome*, which is Sovereign of that *Fee*, he was deprived of that *State*. After his death his Son *Conrard*, and his bastard *Manfred*, and *Conradin* Son of *Conrard*, having laboured to maintain himself in it; finally the house of *France* was called to it after this manner, about the year 1262.

3. By the falling out of all these Princes with the Popes, great confusions happened in *Italy*. The Pope *Innocent the IV.* weary of the German race, presented the Kingdom to *Saint Lewis* for his brother *Charles*, Count of *Anjou*, and *Provence*, who was reputed a great Warriour. And two years after, *Urban the IV.* invested them with it, *An. 1264.* That Country which he held from the Church, contained the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the great Ile of *Sicily*, and was called *Sicilia ultra & extra Farum*, because of the *Far* or *Streight of Messina*, which separates the Ile

He from the Continent. But that Country was so given him by the Pope, that he was first to conquer it before he could enjoy the gift. Great Wars he had against *Manfred*, bastard of *Friderick the II.* Emperour, and against *Conradin* the Emperours Grandchild, whom he took in battel, and beheaded him. A bloody execution, which caused much animosity, and Wars, between that house of *France* and the reliques of the house of *Suabia*, which was *Constantia*, daughter to *Manfred*, wife to *Peter*, King of *Arragon*; who to avenge the death of that King *Conradin*, his wives Cousin, & to repress the insolence of the French, was the Author of the bloody *Sicilian Vespers*, whereby the French were utterly expelled from *Sicily* *An.* 1261. and *Sicily* remained in the power of the house of *Arragon*; and since, although many Wars and Treaties have intervened to reunite these two States, they have alwaies been separated, till the house of *Arragon* hath got the Dominion of *Naples*. Wherefore we will speak no more of *Sicily*, which the French lost in effect, in that massacre, and since quitted their right to it by severall Treaties.

4. But as for the Kingdom of *Naples*, that French Family of *Charles d' Anjou*, was settled in it, from the year 1264. untill the death of *Jane the II.* *An.* 1435. in all 171. yeares.

We

*With Frederick
D. of Austria
Octob. 26. 1269.*

We intend not to relate that History, but only to observe these things which concern our present purpose.

First, that *Charles the lame*, the second King and Son to that first *Charles*, married *Mary* inheritrice of *Hungary*, and so these two Kingdomes were united. Of their Children, the eldest *Charles*, surnamed *Martel*, had *Hungary* for his portion, and from him some Princes of *Hungary* are descended. The second Son was *Lewis*, who would be a Franciscan Fryer, and was Bishop of *Toulouse*. The third Sonne *Robert*, inherited the Kingdome of *Naples*. There were more brothers who had severall apanages. But it was not this *Robert* that continued the line of the Kings of *Naples*. He was Father to Prince *Charles*, who dying before his Father, left a Daughter, that famous, or rather infamous, *Queen Jane* the First, that ruled that State almost forty years.

Next, it must be known that this wicked *Jane*, lascivious and cruel, so farre as to strangle her Husband *Andrew*, a young Prince of that other Branch of *Hungary*, filled her Kingdome with great troubles by her wickednesse. Towards the end of her reigne, *an.* 1378. hapned the great Schisme of the Church, when *Urban* the VI, being made Pope by violence, many Cardinals elected in his stead, *Robert* Cardinall of *Geneva*, who took

took the name of *Clement* the VII. Queen *Jane* being an enemy to *Urban*, who was born her subject, declared her self for *Clement*. Her crime whereby she had put her Husband to death, had been long covered by an accomodation made by *Clement* the VI, who appeased *Lewis* the great, King of *Hungary*, Brother to *An-drew*, whom *Jane* had strangled. But Pope *Urban* the VI, to be avenged of *Jane*, stirred again the House of *Hungary* against her, and a Prince of that House, named *Charles de Duras*, came and besieged her in *Castello del Ovo* at *Naples*, took her and strangled her, an. 1382. in the same place, as some say, where she had strangled her first husband.

3. But the same Princess seeing that *Urban* invited the house of *Hungary* to the conquest of *Naples*, called to her help King *Charles* the VI, of *France*, an. 1380. by the advice of Pope *Clement*. And by his leave, (for he bore himself for her Sovereign) she adopted *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, brother to *Charles* the V, of *France*, and head of the second house of *Anjou*. He was at that time Regent of *France*, in the minority of King *Charles* the VI. From that adoption the French fetch their right in the Kingdome of *Naples*, for from the offspring of that *Lewis*, the French Kings have inherited.

4. *Charles de Duras*, after he had strangled Queen

Queen Jane, seized upon the Kingdome, and reigned in her stead, and after him his two Children; first Ladislaus, whom the French Historians call *Lancelot*, and Jane the Second. They three held the State 53. yeares, from the yeare 1382. till the yeare 1436. But because Jane the first, a little afore her death, had adopted Lewis Duke of Anjou, that house of Duras had continuall War with the house of

Anjou. Lewis the I. came to Naples and there dyed. Lewis the II, his Son, had great Wars with Ladislaus, and for a time was Master of the Kingdome. That Ladislaus being dead without issue, on¹⁴¹⁴. his sister Queen Jane the Second, succeeded him, as bad a woman as the first Jane, for impudicity and extravagancy. She being degraded by the Pope, Martin the V; and Lewis the III, Grandchild of the first Lewis of Anjou, named by him to reign in her place; she adopted Alphonsus King of Arragon and Sicily for her Son, with whom that Lewis the III, had great Warres, and had sometimes the better, sometimes the worst. But Jane being of an inconstant spirit, despised Alphonsus, being altogether governed by her favorite John Carraciolo, which Alphonsus not able to beare, made himselfe Master of the City of Naples. Upon which she cancelled her will made in favour of Alphonsus, and instead of him, adopted Lewis the IV. of

His death happened upon this occasion: he being a very lascivious young Prince, and besieging a town of the Florentines, he offered them that if they would send him forth the handsomest beauty of their town, he would break up his siege. They wrought with an excellent Physician there to send his daughter: which he did, and gave her a curious wrought handkerchief (to wipe the kings mouth) which he had perswaded after the Italian fashion: Shee using it indifferently, both of them were found dead together that night.

of *Anjou*, who before was her enemy. That adoption made *an. 1432.* is the second ground of the claime of the French to *Naples*, and the seed of so many Wars and Calamities, and of the greatest divisions between the Houses of *France* and *Spain*. The *Spaniards* maintaining the first adoption as valid, because *Alphonsus*, though accused by *Jane* of ungratefulnesse, upon which she grounded the disanulling of his adoption, did nothing (as they say) against the respect due to his adoptive Mother; but onely went about to repress the extravagancies of that light-brained woman, to have that part in her affaires which by right belonged to him, and especially curb the insolency of *Carraciolo*, who kept a scandalous familiarity with that woman. The French say, that the second adoption is of more validity: That the cause of ungratefulnesse is sufficient to break an adoption: That *Alphonsus* misused his adoptive Mother, seized upon the City of *Naples*, besieged her, and kept her shut up, and did all acts of Sovereign, to her contempt and disgrace.

5. This *Lewis* the IV. Duke of *Anjou*, having recovered *Naples*, enjoyed it with some peace together with *Jane*, but dyed before her, *an. 1434.* Because he left no issue, she adopted his Brother *René* Duke of *Anjou*, and her

her selfe soon after dyed. But *René* being then kept prisoner by the Duke of *Burgundy*, he could not go to receive his inheritance. His wife *Elizabeth* went, but too late, though at the first she got some advantage. In the end *Alphonsus* remained Master, and the party of *Anjou* was quite expelled out of the Land. Onely *René* kept the possession of *Provence*, which was an appurtenance of that State: for since the first adoption of *Lewis* the I, Duke of *Anjou*, by *Queen Jane* the I. that second house of *Anjou*, had kept the possession of *Provence*. Neither did *Charles de Duras*, nor his Children, nor *Alphonsus*, possess any thing in it.

6. *René* dying an. 1480. although his Daughter *Roland* Dutchesse of *Lorraine*, had left children, he left the inheritance of the County of *Provence*, and of his Rights upon *Naples*, *Charles Count du Maine*, Son to his brother of the same name and title. And *Charles* dying likewise without issue, left *Lewis* the XI, his Heir in all his states, and the Kings of *France* successours to *Lewis*. *Lewis* neglecting to go to *Naples* held by *Ferdinand*, bastard of that *Alphonsus*, and by his Children, contented himselfe to hold *Provence*. But his Sonne, *Charles* the VIII. undertook the conquest of *Naples*, an. 1493. and after him, *Lewis* the XII, and *Francis* the I. In the next Chapter

we shall see the severall Wars, Partages, and Treaties, between these two Houses for that Kingdom

So all the Rights of the House of *France* to the Kingdome of *Naples*, are reduced to these heads.

1. The investiture by *Urban* the IV. in favour of *Charles* brother to *St Lewis*. A weak Right if it were alone; the French Kings having not succeeded to that family by kindred; for all that belongs to any branch of the House of *France*, doth not therefore belong to *France*.

2. The Adoption of *Lewis* the first, of the second house of *Anjou*, by *Queen Jane* the I. by the counsell and leave of *Clement* the VII. who was acknowledged by *France* for a true Pope. By that adoption the right of *Naples* fell to the house of *Anjou*, of which the French Kings have inherited.

3. The two adoptions made by *Queen Jane* the II. first of *Lewis* the III. Duke of *Anjou*, and after him, of his Brother *René*.

4. The will of *Charles Count du Maine*, who named *Lewis* the XI. his heir both of *Provence*, and of his right to the Kingdome of *Naples*, and his successors, Kings of *France* after him.

Paragraphe VIII.

Of the Dutchy of Milan.

After the wrack of the Roman Empire, *an.* 400. all the Countries about the River of Po, towards the Alpes were taken by *Theodorick y Goth*, and kept by his children, till about the year 550. that they were recovered by *Belisarius* and *Narses*, two Captaines of the Emperour *Justinian*. But soon after the same Countries were won by the *Ostrogoths*, Kings of *Italy*, and again by the *Lombards*, who settled a great State there, and maintained it till the time of *Charlemagne*, who destroyed it, *an.* 774. After which time all the Towns of those parts were Imperial, belonging to whosoever had the Empire of the West. The house of *Charlemagne* being degenerated and having lost the Empire, after the yeare 900. the Empire was disputed between the Italian and the German Princes for 50 yeares. In the end the Germans having prevailed in the person of *Otho* the 1st & the Emperors his successours having chosen the seat of their Empire in Germany, and being at odds many times with the Popes, their power sensibly decayed in *Italy*, and great part of the Towns of *Lombardy* slipt out of their Dominion, and chose

chose to themselves *Italian* Lords, the Emperours retaining the shadow only of Sovereignty. Many also chose liberty, & a Popular State, as *Siena, Pisa, Florence, Genoa*, and others. In these confusions the City of *Milan* was usurped by the *Viscounts of Angleria*, a small place in the Dutchy of *Milan*, who maintained themselves about fix hundred years under that name and quality of Vicounts, untill the year 1497. that the Emperour *Wenceslaus* (not *Friderick*, as *Gassan* saith) created *Milan* into a Dutchy. The first Duke was *Galeas the III.* who had married *Isabella* daughter to *John*, King of *France*.

"So called from
y great crowning
of y cocks at his
birth.

That *Galeas* had three Sons, *John Maria*, that succeeded him and died without issue, *Philip Maria* that succeeded his brother, who likewise died without issue, leaving a bastard daughter named *Bona*, married to *Francis Sforza*, a Souldier of Fortune, but a gallant man. That first Duke *Galeas*, besides these two Sons had a daughter called *Valentina*, married to *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, Son to *Charles the V.* King of *France*, an. 1398. Her Father gave her the County of *Ast* for her portion with a Million of *Livers* wherewith the County of *Blois* was bought, *Chasteauduro*, *Soissons*, and other Lordships. And by the contract of Matrimony, it was declared, that if the masculine line of *Galeas* should fail, *Valentina* should so, and brings him a dowry of 400000 *Quintars*. Her to be rid of her daughter, she shortly try with *Orumbello* an harper: she is verie to select a confessor: she shortly drowns all to y last. Her cuts of her head, and presently marries y daughter of the Duke of *Savoy*, not only without dowry, but to disinherit his father in law he solded y heresse to him, gratis: but his new spouse proved barren.

*Blanch

"Pittie her
should have any
lawfull issue:

for his brother
John Maria
being slain

for his by name
her coming new

to the Duke
of Milan was in
extrem want

of money. Her
harrowers much
of *Beatrice* Tenda

widow of *Fia-*
cin) came this ge-
rall who shall
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his wife to accept
aunt of that
Varnath if offered.

it was said the
y daughter of the
Duke of Savoy

lentina and her children should succeed in the Dutchy. It is true that this clause had this great defect, that the Dutchy beeing established a masculine *Fee*, *Galeas* could not make it feminine without the Emperours leave, which was not demanded, because the Empire was then vacant by the degradation of *Wenceslaus*, whom the Electors deposed for his idleness. But it is pretended that the Pope *Benedict* the XIII. who then had his *See* at *Avignon*, approved that contract; for that right the Popes challenge in the vacancy of the Empire.

Howsoever *John Maria*, and *Philip Maria*, being dead without lawfull issue, none had more right to that succession then the children of *Valentina*. But that succession fell in the heat of the confusions of *France*, under *Charles* the VII, when the two Sons of *Valentina*, *Charls Duke of Orleans*, & *John Count of Angoulesme*, were Prisoners in *England*, where the eldest remained five and twenty years, and the second well nigh thirty. In that long time it was easie for *Francis Sforza*, who had married *Bona*^{Blanch} the bastard, daughter of *Duke Philip Maria*, to make himself Master of *Milan*, of which he procured, and obtained the investiture from the Emperour *Friderick* the III. This *Francis Sforza* had two Sons, whom he left to the tuition of his brother *Ludovick Sforza*, so famous in the History of *Milan*, who

who having made away his pupills, leized upon the State of *Milan*, and was expelled out of it by *Lewis the XII. King of France*, and since was taken & carried to *Loches*, where he died in Prison. He left two Sons, *Maximilian*, who was restored by the *Switzers*, and since taken by *Francis the I.* and died in *France*. His other Son was *Francis Sforza the second*, who died without issue, 1534. So that house of *Sforza's* maintained the usurpation of *Milan* well nigh a hundred years among many wars and divisions; the lawfull right remaining still in the house of *Orleans*, with the possession of the *County of Ast*, which is part of that *Dutchy*.

But that right could not be prosecuted,
 1. In the desolation of the house of *Orleans*,
 and the great divisions between that house
 and the house of *Burgundy*, 2. In the long imprisonment of the two *Princes of Orleans*,
 3. In the great troubles of the State of *France* almost all the reign of *Charles the VII.* 4. Besides *Lewis the XI.* had many other businesses all his time. Neither did he love the house of *Orleans*, and the *Princes of his blood*; And of all things he hated the Wars of *Italie*, whither he would never go, neither for the conquest of *Naples*, nor for the receiving the City of *Genoa* that gave her self to him. 5. All the time of *Charles the VIII.*, was spent in Ci-

vill Wars, or in the Conquest of Naples. And *Lewis the XII*, Grandchild of *Valentina*, coming to the Crown, *an. 1498*, had no more in the Dutchy, but the County of *Ast*, the rest being held by *Ludovick Sforza*, Son to the invader *Francis*, and himself invader of the State of his Nephews. But *Lewis* following his right, comes to *Milan*, takes it and expells *Ludovic*, who returning not long after, enters into *Milan*, but there being suddenly invested by *Lewis*, he is taken, carried into *France*, where he dieth a Prisoner, *Lewis* remaining Master of the Dutchy. But because *Ludovic* had two Sons protected in *Germany* by the Emperour *Maximilian I*. *Lewis* to strengthen his right, made meanes to win the Emperours favour, of whom in the end he obtained two investitures of that Dutchy. The one *An. 1506* for *Lewis* and his children, and lawfull Heirs, and *Lewis* for the acknowledgement of this investiture, paid him sixty thousand livers, and promise to give him every year a pair of golden spurrs at Christmas. Also in that investiture, the exclusion of *Sforza* is precisely exprest, and a marriage concluded betweene *Charles* the Grandchild of *Maximilian*, who since was the Emperour *Charles the V*. and *Claude* the eldest daughter of *Lewis the XII*. which also was comprehended in that investiture. The other was *an. 1509*, whereby the

the same Emperour confirms the former investiture, with a condition of the marriage between *Charles* and *Claude*, which indeed was not effected, but that hinders not the validity of the investiture, which was absolute, the first at least. By vertue of that right, *Lewis* remained posselt of that *Dutchy*; but towards the end of his reigne, *Maximilian Sforza* was put in possession of that *Dutchy* by the *Switzers*, by the consent of the Emperour *Maximilian*, who was displeased that *Claude*, promised to *Charls* his Grandchild, had been married to *Francis*, who after was *Francis the first King of France*, which he took for an affront, and this was the first seed of the jealousies between the two houses of *France* and *Austria*.

Francis the first having regained the *Dutchy*, and taken *Maximilian*, neglected to do homage to the Emperour; and a while after *Charles* having succeeded his Grandfather in the Empire, the animosities grew to a great height betwixt these two Princes, and they became implacable, fighting with great might about *Milan*, till that, by the *Treaty of Madrid*, *Francis the first* yielded his right, as we will relate in the next Chapter.

To sum up the pretences of the French upon *Milan*; They are grounded, 1. Upon the contract of marriage of *Valentina*, who is substi-

tuted Heir of the Dutchy, the lawfull Heires male failing; and the contract is valid, as confirmed by the Pope in the vacancy of the Empire. 2. The investiture given by the Emperour *Maximilian*, in favour of *Lewis the XII.* and his Heirs; yea of *Claude* and her children. 3. The second investiture, *an. 1509.* 4. *Francis the I.* having yielded all his rights by the Treaties of *Madrid*, *Cambray*, and *Crespy*, as we shall see afterwards; one may say that (besides the nullity of that cession, by the right of the Kingdom) *Francis* may have quitted the right that came to him by his great Grandmother *Valentina*; but that he hath not quitted that which came to his children by *Claude* his wife, who being daughter of *Lewis the XII.* had for her and her issue the right of investiture both of 1505. and 1509. which her Husband could not take from her. And *Francis* made use of this reason among the nullities which he objected against the treatie of *Madrid*. In what time these cessions were made, and of what strength they are, the next Chapter will shew.

The Commonwealth of *Genoa* had also some dependance from the Kings of *France*. That City with the Country depending from it, having shaken the yoke of the Emperours (as the other Commonwealths of
Italy,

Italy, while the Italian and German Princes were contending for the Empire) form'd it self into a most flourishing State. In the Wars of the East, and Conquests of the *Holy Land*, *Genoa* was very considerable, no lesse than the *Venetians and Pisans*, possesst many Countries in the *Levant*, the *Ile of Chio*, the Town of *Capcha* upon *Mar Major*, in *Taurica Chersonesus*, and others. But the Commonwealth being weakned by the jealousies of two potent Families, the *Fregosi* and the *Adorni*, the State submitted it self unto *Charles the VI* of *France*, an. 1390. who taking them under his Protection, sent to them the Marshall of *Boulcaut*, who received their Oath of fidelity. But great confusions being risen in *France*, by reason of the weaknesse of *Charles the VI*. for 29. years, by the invasion of the English, and by the extremity that *Charles the VII*. was brought to, that right over *Genoa* was neglected. But in the year 1458. the same *Genoese* being opprest with their own divisions, sent *Peter Fregosa* into *France* to *Charles the VII*. who received them under his protection, and sent them *John Duke of Lorrain*, eldest Son to the *Duke of Anjou*. And after *Charles the VII*, having again given themselvs to *Lewis the XI*, some Historians say, that he neglected that Conquest, so that they were forced to submit themselves to *John Galeas, Duke of Milan*.
Others

Others say, that *Lewis the XI* invested that *Garleas* in the Lordship of *Genoa*, upon condition of doing homage for it to the Crown of *France*. And *Charles the VIII.* passing to the Conquest of *Naples*, invested against *Ludovick Sforza* in the same by the Treaty of *Vercel*, *an. 1494*, he paying thirty thousand ducats of entry, in consideration of the auxiliary forces which *Ludovick* promist unto *Charles* for the Conquest of *Naples*. After *Charles*, the City of *Genoa* remained subject to the Kings of *France*, as *Dukes of Milan*, and *Lewis the XII.* made a triumphant entry into it, and received of them all the honours and deferences of Subjects to a Sovereign, *an. 1502.* and gave them a Governour, *John of Cleves* his Kinsman. But *an. 1527.* while *Charles the V.* and *Francis the I.* were in the heat of their quarrell, the City of *Naples* being besieged by *Monsieur de Lautree*, *Andrew Doria* of *Genoa*, subject to the French King, and Generall of his Fleet, being ill satisfied of *Francis the I.* revolted from him, turned to the Emperour, and was the cause of the losse of *Naples*. The Emperour to win him to his service, offered him *la carte blanche*, that is, what conditions soever he would have. The first demand of *Andrew* was the liberty of his City, which he obtained, and it was freed from all subjection to the *Dukes of Milan*. But if the French have

have any right in the Dutchy of *Milan*, they have the like in *Genoa*; for *Charles the V.* could not cut off that limbe from it, since it did not belong to him.

Paragraphe IX.

Of the Counties of Flanders and Artois.

These two Counties were antiently before the conquest of the Romans, parts of *Gallia Belgica*, and so under that Empire, and under the first and second race of the French Kings, till that famous partage of the children of *Lewis the Meek*, an. 843. when the River of *Scaldis* being set as a limit of that which belonged to *Lothary*, the Emperour on the one side; and *Charles le Chauve* on the other, that Country remained within the partage of the last, who was King of *France*, and contains a great extent of Land beyond the River of *Somme*, near the Rivers of *Scaldis* and *Lis*, butting upon the Ocean. And because all that Country was full of Wood, which made it be called *Sylva Carbonaria*, *Charlemagne*, about the yeare 771. placed there a Governour whom he called the great Forester of *Flanders*. So also were his successors called, and were not very considerable.

The

"Bald

The first that erected this Country into a County, was *Charles le Chauve*, an. 850. or thereabouts. The first Count was *Baldwin*, surnamed *Bras de fer* or *Iron-arm*, for his great exploits against the *Normans*, then barbarous and infidels, who coming from the North, infested those coasts both by Sea and Land. This *Baldwin* stole away *Iudith* Daughter to *Charles le Chauve*, and widow to an English King, which action at the first moved *Charles* to a great wrath and hatred against him. But *Iudith* having appeased her Father, and *Baldwin* being very necessary for the defence of those Countries against the *Normans*, he recovered the Kings Grace, and it was upon that reconciliation, that he was made Count of *Flanders*. So that *Baldwin* is the head of that house of *Flanders* and *Artois*, which then were but one Province.

1. All that Country remained thus united in one County, till the year 1180. when *Philip August* King of France, married *Isabella* Daughter of *Baldwin* the IV. Count of *Hainaut* and *Namur*, and of *Margaret* of *Flanders*. For *Philip* of *Alsatia*, Count of *Flanders*, uncle to *Margaret*, to shew his joy for that high alliance, gave her the Country of *Artois*, consisting in the Towns of *Arras*, *Bapaume*, *Saint Omer*, *Aire*, *Hesdin*, and some others which *Philip August* enjoyed, and his Sons after him,

till

till *Lewis* the VIII, gave the Country of *Artois* to his third Son *Robert*, for whose sake his brother *St Lewis* erected the same into a County, of which this *Robert* did him homage, and that house of *Artois* was a Royal house for a long time after. Thus *Flanders* and *Artois* had their severall Counts and Lords, as most of the other seventeen Provinces of *Netherlands*.

2. King *John* of France having given to his fourth Son *Philip*, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, because he loved him dearly, he procured a great marriage for him, matching him with *Margaret* of *Flanders*, only Daughter of *Lewis* the III. Count of *Flanders*, and of *Margaret* of *Brabant*. That Princess was held the richest match of Europe, for she was Heir not onely of the Counties of *Flanders*, *Burgundy*, *Artois*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, and other great Lordships, but was also apparent Heir (from her great Aunt by her Mothers side) of the Dutchies of *Brabant*, *Lothier*, *Limburg*, and the *Marquesat* of *Antwerp*. That alliance made an. 1356. was the beginning of the greatness of the house of *Burgundy*. For that *Philip*, and his three successors, *John*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, united all these great States, which afterwards fell into the House of *Austria* by marriage, as we have represented before.

*her saved his
life in a battle
with the English.*

3. Although the propriety of those two
Pro-

Provinces, *Flanders* and *Artois*, came to the House of *Austria* by the match of *Mary* of *Burgundy* with *Maximilian*; the pretences of the Crowne of *France* upon that propriety, being quitted by the reddition of the Towne of *Arras*, an. 1435. Yet the sovereignty thereof hath remained with the French Kings, untill the Cessions by them made of the same by severall Treaties, of which the first was that of *Madrid*.

That sovereignty is proved by seven Reasons. The first is, The homages which the Counts have alwaies payed to the Kings of *France* for these Counties, and the investitures which they have taken from them of the same. The second, That the Kings of *France* have judg'd of the Counts of *Flanders* as Sovereigns, and given them Lawes. The third, That they decided of peace and war in *Flanders*, even against the will of the Counts. The fourth, That they have given grace to *Flemmings* as their Sovereigns, and punish't them of their rebellions. The fifth, That it was especially promis'd and agreed, that the *Flemmings* should resort to the Parliament of *Paris*. The sixth, That the Kings of *France* have protect'd as Sovereignes, the Counts of *Flanders*. The seventh, That they have confiscated the County for Felony. Briefly, the Kings of *France* have exercised all

all Acts of Sovereignty in *Flanders* and *Artois*, a thing never brought in question or denied before *Charles* the V. who being promoted to the Empire, and fallen to great Wars against *Francis* the I. was delinquent in that duty, and obtained the cession of that right by divers Treaties.

4. It is then a known truth, that *Flanders* and *Artois* did belong to the Sovereignty of *France*, and that the question is onely, whether the cession made at *Madrid* was just and valid. Upon which the French say,

1. That *Charles* the V, being born a subject of *France* at *Gant*, in the County of *Flanders*, committed the crime of Felony by his Wars against his Sovereign, whom also he took and kept prisoner, which was often upbraided to him; yea a sentence of the Parliament of *Paris*, intervened against him, whereby he is deprived of his Lordships depending of the Crown of *France* for crime of Felony; so that being a Felon against his Sovereign, he had no right either to treat with him when he kept him prisoner, nor any way oblige him.

2. The cession made by the Treaty of *Madrid*, was invalid by the Law of Nations, as done by a man kept in prison.

3. That cession made at *Madrid*, and in other Treaties, is null by the fundamentall Lawes

Laws of *France* which prohibit the alienation of the Sovereign rights of the Crown, especially without the consent of the States Generall, who never ratified all those Treaties. And in effect, the Parliaments by their sentences, the Peers of the Kingdom by their Votes, and all the learned and judicious by their discourses have condemned those Treaties. And to this day the *Flemmings and Artoisians* are accounted *Regnicolæ*, and have no need of letters of Naturalization.

CHAP. IV.

Wars, Agreements, Treaties, between the houses of France and Austria about their pretences, from the Treaty of Arras to that of Vervins.

WE have seen how by the History, and by Reason, the two Houses of *France* and *Austria* will ground their several pretences. As the differences between private persons beget suits in Law, which end in the sentence of a Court; so the jealousies between these two great houses have begot Wars, which haue ended in Treaties: Yet so that the

the Wars have begun afresh after. These Wars have been many, especially since the promotion of *Charles* the V to the Empire, *an.* 1519. For the Kings of *France*, who without contradiction had the precedence before all Christian Monarches were grieved to see a Count of *Flanders*, and an Heir of the house of *Austria*, a small Province of *Germany* advance himself so far as to offer to step before them, and (as many think) to affect the Empire of all Europe.

To understand all these Wars, Truces, and Treaties; the History must begin at the Treaty of *Arras*, *an.* 1435. For although these six houses, *Austria*, *Burgundy*, *Hungary*, *Arragon*, *Castilia*, and *Portugal*, the limbs of that great Colossus of the now house of *Austria*, were then severall houses; yet that Treaty will serve to see how the house of *Burgundy* is fallen into the house of *Austria*, and how their greatnesse began. Here then let us say in brief, what Wars and Treaties have been between these two houses since the Treaty of *Arras*, *an.* 1435. to that of *Vervins*, 1598. We will divide this into many Articles, according to the most remarkable dates, touching only the most principall points, leaving the rest to the generall History. 1. From the Treaty of *Arras*, *Ann.* 1435. to the marriage of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, with *Mary*

of Burgundy, 1477. 2. Thence to the death of the Emperour Maximilian, 1519. 3. Thence to the Treaty of Madrid, 1529. 4. Thence to the Treaty of Cambray, 1529. 5. Thence to the Treaty of Crespy, or Saint John des Vignes, an. 1544. 6. Thence to the Treaty of Chasteau in Cambresis. 7. Thence to the death of the Duke of Alencon, and the beginning of the League, 1584. 8. Thence to the Treaty of Veruins, an. 1598.

Paragraphe I.

From the Treaty of Arras an. 1435. to the marriage of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy.

In all that time, which was not yet the time of the greatness of Austria, the French Kings had nothing to do with that Family, which in that period of years, enjoyed the Empire in the persons of Albert, and Frederick the III. They had also little to do with the Kings of Castilia and Arragon, which were then two severall States. But much they had to do with the Dukes of Burgundy, founders of that greatness of Austria. Of which this is the summary.

1. Philip le Bon after he had brought the State of France into great distresse, and given

it for a prey to the English, to avenge the death of his Father *John*, slain at *Montereau Fautonne*, an. 1419; Finally being ill satisfied with the English, was forced to agree with *Charles the VII*, who had killed his Father, which he did by the Treaty of *Arras*, an. 1435. whereby *Charles* gave to *Philip* what we said before, *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roye*, the County of *Artois*, the enjoying of the County of *Bullen* for his life, also all the Towns of the River of *Somme*, redeemable with four hundred thousand Crownes, and promist to join to the *Dutchy of Burgundy*, the Counties of *Mascon*, *Chalons*, *Langres*, *Bar sur Siene*, and *Auxerre* for ever, reserving the resort of these jurisdictions to the Parliament of *Paris*. This Treaty raised very much the house of *Burgundy*. After which, *Philip* was a loyall friend and servant unto *Charles*, and helped him to expell the English out of *France*. Neither did he meddle with the first falling out of *Charles* with his Son *Lewis the Dolphin* (who was since *Lewis the XI.*) which division was called, *La Ligue de la Praguerie*. And all the reigne of *Charles* nothing considerable hapned between these two houses but that towards the end of *Charles*, *Lewis the Dolphin*, having withdrawn himself discontented from the Court, and lived a while in *Daulphiné*. When the King his Father would

have apprehended him by the Count of Dampmartin, he fled into *Flanders*, where he was received with great honour by Duke Philip, who assigned him the Town of *Guenep* in *Brabant*, to keep his Court, where he lived six or seven years, till the death of his Father, an. 1461.

2. Now comes the reign of *Lewis the XI*, who had so much to do with the house of *Burgundy*, but nothing with that of *Austria*, and little with that of *Arragon and Castilia*. Historians observe, that *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, and his Son *Charles Count of Charrolois* accompanied *Lewis* into *France*, and were present at his coronation. And that *Lewis* at the first was very great with the Count of *Charrolois*; but that soon after that friendship was separated, by reason of the great antipathy of their humours, and because while *Lewis* was retired into *Flanders*, they had been too much acquainted with one anothers conditions, which brought them to a mutuall contempt. Also, because *Charles* had a suspicion that *Lewis* had plotted against his life, and because *Lewis* would have brought the *Gabell* (or impost of salt) into *Burgundy*, which the Duke did oppose. Then the suddain redeeming of the Towns of the River of *Somme*, for which *Lewis* payed the four hundred thousand Crowns, incens'd the Count of *Charrolois*.

rolois very much. These were the causes of the great hatred between these two houses, which the house of *Austria* inherited together with the Estate. Hardly indeed could these two Princes agree; for *Lewis* the XI was malicious, disobliging, and dissembled; and *Charles* Count of *Charolois* was peevish and arrogant, and followed no Law but his own will. That hatred brought forth the War of the *publick good*, as they called it, in which *Charles* had the better. That War ended in the *Treaty of Conflans*, whereby it was covenanted that the King should restore to *Charles* all the Towns of the River of *Somme*, redeemed not long before, to enjoy them all his life, and that he should have the County of *Guines* for himself and his Heirs for ever.

3. *John* King of *Arragon*, was assisted by *Lewis* the XI, and the said *John* sold or pawned unto him the County of *Roussillon* for three hundred thousand Crownes. This is the ground of the claime of the French to that County.

4. *Henry* the IV, King of *Castilia*, and *John* King of *Arragon* being in War, because *Henry* maintained the people of *Arragon* against their King, and about some Towns, *Lewis* the XI was chosen Umpire, and went to *Bayonne*, where he saw the *Castilian* on this side of the River of *Vodazo*, and upon the Lands of

France. That interview made them despise one another, for *Henry* was an ill favoured and ill behaved man, of little wit, and was altogether governed by the *Count of Lodesme*. *Lewis* used a short and coorse habit, and wore a little leaden, Our Lady, at his hat. The vanity of the *Count of Lodesme* seemed ridiculous to the French. He crost the River in a boat, with a sail of golden cloath, and wore pomps garnisht with precious stones. Ever since that interview, the two Nations have despised one another.

5. After the peace of *Conflans*, the divisions were renewed between *Lewis* and the *Count of Charolois*, because *Lewis* cozened his brother *Charles*, gave him *Normandy*, and presently took it from him, banisht him into *Guienne*, far from the other Princes, with whom he was in League, and gave him a little Country under the specious Title of *Duke of Guienne*. This angered the *Count of Charrolis*, and increased his jealousies. *Philip Duke of Burgundy* dieth an. 1467. *Charles* succeeds him.

6. This new Duke of *Burgundy* is much considered in *France*, by reason of his great Lands, and turbulent spirit. All his time hee was in Wars with the King, and brought the English into *France*. The King also did raise him Enemies, which his own rashnesse did multiply.

multiply. He was defeated by the *Switzers* at *Granson* and *Morat*, and killed before *Nancy*, *an.* 1477.

7. After his death, *Lewis* took the *Dutchy* of *Burgundy*, and *Provinces* annex to it, given by *Charles* the VII, to *Philip le Bon*, as a *masculin apanage*, with the *Towns* upon the *River* of *Somme*, which *Charles* was to hold all his life, not leave it to his heirs. He seized also upon the *Town* of *Arras*, upon which he pretended a right. He did his utmost to catch *Mary* the inheritrix of *Charles*, and desired the people of *Gant* to deliver her into his hand, or make her marry *Charles* the *Dolphin*, but they protected her, and soon after *Maximilian* of *Austria* married her.

8. In *Spain*, after the interview of the two King, *Lewis* of *France*, and *Henry* of *Castilia*, and the sale or pawning of the *County* of *Roussillon*, King *John* of *Arragon*, seeing that *Lewis* had arbitrated in favour of the *Castilian*, and had sent *John* Duke of *Calabria* for the conquest of *Arragon*, took his time when the leagues in *France* were strongest against the King, to make *Perpignan* revolt against the French. The Garrison retired into the Citadel, and made it good till the Town was besieged by *Lewis*, and constrained to return to his obedience.

Paragraphe II.

*From the marriage of Maximilian with
Mary, unto his death.*

This period of forty yeares comprehends four reigns of the French Kings, the end of *Lewis* the XI, *Charles* the VIII, *Lewis* the XII. and the beginning of *Francis* the I: in which space the greatnesse of the House of *Austria* was founded by her union with that of *Burgundy*, and then with *Castilia* and *Arragon*.

Under Lewis the XI.

Since the death of *Duke Charles*, three remarkable things hapned under *Lewis* the XI. *Mary* inheritrix of *Burgundy*, whom her Father had promist to many Princes, in the end was married to *Maximilian* of *Austria*, an. 1478. *Lewis* would have her for *Charles* the *Dolphin*, but he was but six years old, and she above fifteen yeares elder then he. That preferring of *Maximilian* before *Charles*, was the cause of many evils to France.

1. The loss of all that *Mary* posselt, which might have been united with France.

2. The increase of the house of *Austria*, which began then to be jealous of France, which

which she was very far from before that alliance.

3. Great Wars and endlessse envy, by the neighborhood of these two great Houses. That marriage lasted but four yeares, *Mary* dying of a fall from her Horse as she was hunting; She left two children, *Philip* Archduke of *Austria*, Father to *Charles* the V. and *Margaret*.

2. By the jealousy risen between *France* and *Austria* by that marriage, and incensed by the revolt of the Prince of *Orenge*, a great Lord of *Franch County*, they broke into open War, and the battel of *Guinegast* was fought, of which the event was so uncertain, that both parties ascribed to themselves the victory.

3. *Mary* of *Burgundy* being dead, the *Flemings*, especially the *Gantois* alwayes mutinous, would expell *Maximilian*, and dispose of *Mary's* Children. They married *Margaret* to *Charles* the Dolphin, and appointed for her portion the County of *Artois*, *Franch County*, and other Lands. *Margaret* was then but two yeares old, and *Charles* twelve. But *Charles* being married since with *Anne* Dutchesse of *Britain*, *Margaret* was sent back to her Father *Maximilian*, which was a new cause of jealousy betweene these two families. This *Margaret* being seperated from
Charles

Charles, was married to *John* Son of *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* and *Isabella* of *Castilia* whom she never saw: Then she was for the third time married with *Philibert* the II, Duke of *Savoy*: They say of her, that she was three times married, and dyed a Virgin.

Under Charles the VIII.

1. *Charles* the VIII, had civil Wars against *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Brittain*, and others which ended by the battel of *St. Aubin*; after which *Charles* married *Anne* the inheritrix of *Brittain*: whereby he offered two affronts unto *Maximilian*; the one, that he sent him back his Daughter *Margaret*, withwhom he had bin married seven or eight yeares; the other, that he married her with whom *Maximilian* was married by *Proxie*, for in *Britaine* all the Proclamations were then made in the name of the *Dutchess*, and of the Arch-duke of *Austria*. Upon which *Maximilian* made War against *Charles*, and took the Towns of *Arras*, *St Omer*, and other places which the French held as yet in *Artois*. But a Peace was made an. 1493. by which *Charles* was within four years to restore the *Franch* County, and some Towns which he held in *Artois*, unto *Philip* the Heir of *Neberlands*, Son to *Maximilian*.

An

An. 1494. Charles restored to *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, *Perpignan* and the County of *Roussillon*, though he received not the three hundred thousand Crowns which it was pawned for. The reason why *Charles* did so, we have declared before.

3. The same year was the expedition of *Charles* the VIII, into *Naples*, against the house of *Arragon*. To that which we have said of that quarrel, this must be added. *Alphonfus* who was adopted by *Queen Jane* the II. and in the end expelled the house of *Arjou* out of *Italy*, left *Naples* to *Ferdinand* his bastard, saying, that he could lawfully doe it, because it was his own conquest. The house of that bastard enjoyed it after him, and had four Princes, *Ferdinand* the Bastard, *Alphonfus* his Son, *Ferdinand* his Grandchild, and after him *Fri-derick*, uncle to this last *Ferdinand*, and brother of *Alphonfus*.

Although that House of Bastards enjoyed *Naples*, the Kings of *Arragon* would say that it was by their toleration, because *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*, who had been adopted by *Jane* the II. had conquered *Naples* with the Arms, the Blood, and the money of *Arragon*, & that he ought not to have left it to any but his brother *John*, King after him of *Arragon*. Wherefore *Ch. VIII*. fearing lest *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* Son to *John*, should disturb his conquest of

of *Naples*, either to assist that Bastard House, or to make it his own conquest, restored unto him the County of *Roussillon*, gratis, upon *Ferdinands* promise, not to disturb him, yea & to help him; but *Ferdinand* broke his word with him. What was the right of *Charles*, was shewed before.

Charles with great expedition past through *Piemont*, *Milan*, *Pisa*, *Florence*, *Rome*, got the Kingdom of *Naples* without difficulty, and governed it without prudence, and instantly lost it by the ill behaviour of his Ministers, which got him the hatred of the *Neapolitans*. A league was made by the *Pope*, the *Venetians*, the King of *Naples*, and the Duke of *Milan*, not onely to stay his conquests, but to stop his return, and destroy him in *Italy*. The Generall of the Army of the league, was *Francesco Gonzaga*, Marquess of *Mantua*, who gave battle to the King at *Fornova*, which the King won with great glory. Being returned into *France*, he prepared to return into *Italy*, but dyed in that preparation.

Whilst *Charles* was about the conquest of *Naples*, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, who soon after was King of *France*, stayed in his County of *Ast*, and renewed his claim to the Dutchy of *Milan*, possess'd by the usurper *Ludovick Sforza* the murtherer of his two nephews. As long as *Ludovick* kept good intelligence with
the

the King, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, durst not attempt any thing against him. But after that *Ludovick* had made himself one of the league against the King; *Lewis* possesse himselfe of *Novara*, a Town of the Dutchy, which presently was besieged by *Ludovick* and recovered, excepting the Castle.

Under Lewis the XII.

In sixteen yeares that *Lewis* reigned, he had Wars with *Philip* of *Austria*, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, *Ludovick* Duke of *Milan*, and the Kings of *Naples*, of the Bastard branch of *Arragon*.

1. *An. 1499. Philip* Arch-duke of *Austria*, did homage at *Arras* in the hands of *Guy de Rochford*, Chancellor of *France*, for the Counties of *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Charolois*, a solemn action done with great pomp, and many formalities.

2. In the years 1499. and 1500. *Lewis* conquereth the Dutchy of *Milan* from *Ludovick*, loseth it by the returne of *Ludovick* out of *Germany*, regaines it by taking and imprisoning *Ludovick*, and by the chase which he gave to his Sons *Maximilian* and *Francis*.

3. From thence he goeth to *Naples*, conquers it from *Friderick*, the last King of the Bastard branch of *Arragon*, who puts himselfe

selfe into the Kings hands. The King recompenceth him with the Dutchy of *Anjou*, a pension of thirty thousand Crowns, and the first place in the Councell. *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, seeing that bastard branch failed, reneweth his pretences to *Naples*, *Lewis* compounds with him, and they share the Kingdom. The King of *Arragon* hath for his part *Calabria*, & *Puglia*, the rest remains to the French. But loone after, upon some differences which arose between the French and the Spaniards, for the confines of the Country of *Abruzzo*, and some Salt-pits, the grand Capitan *Gonsalvo de Cordova*, takes arms and expells the French, an. 1503.

4. The Emperour *Maximilian*, after the yeare 1593. seeing the house of *Sforzas* degraded from *Milan*, but two Sons remaining, threatneth *Lewis* of the Imperial Ban. *Lewis* appeaseth him, and obtaines the investiture of the yeare 1505. and promiseth his daughter *Claud* to *Charles* Duke of *Luxemburg*, who since was Emperour. But soon after *Lewis*, who loved dearly *Francis d'Angoulesme* his Cousin, and first Prince of his blood, made him marry *Claud*, by the counsel of the great men of his Kingdom, notwithstanding the promise made to *Maximilian*. This angered very much *Philip* Father to *Charles*, who would have taken a revenge of that wrong, had

had he not been prevented with death, an.
1506. He had married *Jane* the great inhe-
ritrix of *Spain*, by whom he had many chil-
dren.

5. Yet *Philip* before he dyed, reconciled
himselfe with *Lewis*, yea, and recommended
to him the tuition of his Son *Charles*, which
Lewis accepted, and gave him *Antony de Cen-
tes* Lord of *Crovy*, for his Governour, a wise
Knight, who formed that young spirit to great
businesses in which *Charles* excelled after-
wards.

6. An. 1507. the City of *Genoa* which had
been conquered with the Dutchy of *Milan*,
and where *Lewis* had made a glorious entry,
revolted from him. *Lewis* passeth into *Italy*,
and brings her to subjection. It was at that
time that *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* returning from
his new conquest of *Naples*, saw *Lewis* the
XII, at *Savone*, a Town of the Territory of
Genoa. In that interview, *Ferdinand* who was
then King of two little Kingdoms onely, both
depending from the See of *Rome*, refused al-
wayes the honour and the precedence which
Lewis would give him, as it is usuall to do to
strangers when one is at home, even to infe-
riours. He would salute *Lewis* at his rising,
and attended him going to Mass. *Lewis*, when-
soever he gave to *Ferdinand* the precedence,
made him understand that he did it out of civi-
lity,

lity, not out of duty. Go before (said he to him) for if I were at your house, and in your Country, I would in the like case doe what you would desire of me; but because you are in my Country, you shall do so, for it is my will, and I beseech you so to doe. That might be done then without prejudice, when the House of Arragon was farre under the splendor of that of France, and was not so arrogant as now. How such another encounter should be ordered in these dayes in point of civility, it is more then I can determine.

An. 1508. the league of *Cambray* was made, of Pope *Jule* the II. the Emperour *Maximilian*, Lewis King of France, and *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, and Naples, to beat down the arrogancy of the *Venetians*, who during the confusions of Italy, had incroacht upon all their Estates, the patrimony of the Church, the Empire, Milan, and Naples. Whence followed the battel of *Aignadel*, which Lewis won of the *Venetians*, which made him so glorious, that the Popes and the Princes of Italy grew jealous of him. *Ferdinand* leaveth the alliance of Lewis, who had restored unto him all the Towns which the *Venetians* held in the Kingdom of Naples, and made war against him, Lewis wins the battel of *Ravenna* against the Pope and the Spaniards, an. 1512.

8. Pope *Jule* the II, being declared enemy

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to *Lewis*, and all his adherents, among whom was *John d'Albret*, King of *Navarra*, *Ferdinand* invaded *Navarra*, an. 1512. The *Switzers*, set on by the Pope, expell the *French* from the *Dutchy of Milan*, and set up *Maximilian Sforza*, Son to *Ludovic*. The *English* and *Maximilian* being confederate, come into *France* and besiege *Terouenne*; *Lewis* comes to helpe, and gives the battel which was called of the *Spurres*, because though the *French* at the first resisted manfully, yet they were put to the worst, and forced to make more use of their *Spurres* then *Swords*.

Finally, although *Lewis* had won the battel of *Ravenna*, an. 1512. he saw himsefse expelled out of all *Italy*, and the House of the *Sforzas*, restored at *Milan* before he dyed, which was an. 1515.

Under Francis the I.

In the beginning of his reign, he found the House of *Austria* in the hands of *Charles*, then of the age of fifteen years, who posselt all the *Low Countries* by his Father *Philip* of *Austria*, and the Kingdom of *Castilia* from his Mother *Jane* of *Arragon*. *Maximilian* was yet living, enjoying the Arch-dutchy of *Austria*. His other Grand-father, *Ferdinand* was King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, both very old and broken,

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ken. *Charles* was their Heir apparent.

1. *Francis* the I. coming to the Crown, received the homage of the Count of *Nassau*, in the name of *Charles*, Count of *Flanders*, and *Artois*, to whom he promised *Renee*, second daughter to *Lewis* the XII. But that marriage was not fulfilled. He confirmed also that peace with *Ferdinand*, which *Lewis* the XII. had made a little before he died.

2. His next work, was the Conquest of the Dutchy of *Milaz*. He passeth into *Italis*, and wins the battail of *Marignan* in *Piemont* against the *Switzers*, who had undertaken to maintain *Maximilian Sforza* in his new possession of *Milan*, which they had got for him. He gets *Milan*. *Maximilian Sforza* yields himself to him for a Pension of threescore thousand Crowns, and retires himself into *France*. This was the third time that the French had got *Milan* of the *Sforzas*.

3. *Francis* and *Charles* being both young, and ambitious, it could not be expected that they should long live in peace, because *Charles* being born a subject to *France*, kept *Navarra*, which the house of *Albret* had lost for adhering to *France*; Then *Ferdinand* had expelled the French out of *Naples*, wrongfully say they. This *Ferdinand* died an. 1516. and *Charles* inherited all these great States, exalted to the height of greatnesse, wanting

nothing but the Empire and *Austria*, which his Grandfather *Maximilian* left him by his death three years after. In the birth of these two eminent powers, which have cost so much blood and tears to the Christian world, before they had conceived that great hatred which was between them after; the Deputies of both sides met at *Noyon*, and this was called the *Treaty of Noyon*, an. 1516, where it was concluded, that *Francis* should yield all his rights in the Kingdom of *Naples* for a yearly pension of a hundred thousand Crowns. 2. That *Charles* then called the Archduke, should marry *Lovise*, the eldest daughter of *Francis*, instead of *Renee*, sister to the Queen *Claude*. 3. That the Archduke should restore the Kingdome of *Navarra* to *Henry*, Son to *John d' Albret*, or in defect of it that he should otherwise content him within six months. The King and the Archduke swore that Treaty, and give the one to the other, the order of Knighthood. The King that of *St. Michael*, the Archduke that of the *Golden Fleece*, made an alliance for ever; and to confirm it, promist to have an interview at *Cambray*. But *Ferdinand* being dead soon after, *Charles* made hast to passe into *Spain* to take possession of his Estates, and neglected the Articles of *Noyon*, especially the restitution of *Navarra*.

4. Yet for three years after, nothing was stirred on either side, because *Martin Luther* having alarmed all *Europe* with his Doctrine, the Pope *Leo* the X procured a generall truce for five years among all Princes. But *Maximilian* the Emperour being dead, an. 1519. and *Charles* being increased with the inheritance of *Austria*, and the Title of Emperour; *Francis* the I. conceived a great indignation, that a vassall of his should have been preferred before him to the Empire, which he had been a suitour for with great earnestnesse; which jealousie would never suffer these two Princes to agree.

5. Each of them had a great Minister of State by their persons, *Francis* had *Artus Gouffier*, *Sieur de Boissi*, Great Master of France. *Charles* had been bred by *Guillaume de Croy* *Sieur de Ceures*, whom *Lewis* the XII. had recommended to him. These two foreseeing the misfortune which the ambition of these two Princes was drawing upon Christendom, resolved to meet to make a peace, and alliance for ever. *Montpelier* was the place chosen for that meeting. But as soon as *Boissi* was come, and began to treat with *Ceures*, he fell into a fever and died, leaving that great work imperfect, which no body since was able to finish.

Paragraphe III.

From the death of Maximilian, an 1519.
to the Treaty of Madrid
an. 1525.

By the death of the Emperour *Maximilian*, *Charles* was made possessour of *Austria*, and the *Empire*, being possess before of the Inheritances of *Burgundy*, *Arragon*, and *Castilia*. A greatnesse which swelled his mind, and made him loose his respect to *Francis*. Hee complained that *Francis* had taken *Claude* from him, the eldest daughter of *Lewis* the XII, which was promist to him. *Francis* redemanded *Navarra*, *Naples*, and the homages for the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, which *Charles* took to be too low for the quality of an Emperour. *Charles* also complained that the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Patrimony of his Grandmother *Mary* was kept from him, and the Dutchy of *Milan* belonging to the *Sforzas*, and to the Empire.

The great fire of War which lasted forty years between these two houses, brake out upon a very slender occasion. *Robert de la March* Duke of *Bouillon*, adjudgd by the Peers of his Dutchy, which pretend themselves to be Sovereigns, the Town of *Hierges* in *Ar-*

dennes to the Prince of *Chimay*, of the house of *Crovi*, against the Lord *d'Esmeries*; to whom the Emperour gave a writ of relief, although *Robert* pretended the judgement of his Peeres to be Sovereign. *Robert* incensed against the Emperour, made his addresse to *Francis* the I, and offered him his service. The King received him courteously, yet forbade his subjects to assist him, not willing to break with the Emperour. But *Robert*, proud to have the protection of *France*, denounceth Warre to the Emperour, who was then at *Wormes* to pacifie the troubles rising in *Germany* about *Luther*, and attempts to surprize some places in *Luxemburg*. But the Emperour presently seizeth upon the Estate of that little Prince, and constrains him to ask him pardon; reproaching *Francis* in an odious manner for receiving his rebellious subject. About the same time, *Francis* upon the inexecution of the Treaty of *Noyon* (*Charles* refusing to make restitution of *Navarra* to *Henry d'Albret*) took the quarrell of that dispossessed Prince, and sent *Andrew de Foix*, Lord de *Esparre*, brother to *Monsieur de Lautre* into *Navarra*, where the French did some exploit at the first, but were soon repelled by the Spaniards. *Charles* taketh that enterprize for an infraction of the peace between the two houses, though it was but a succour given to a
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confederate of *France*, to prosecute his rights. He makes great preparatives of war, makes *Leo* the X, break wth *France*, & joyn with him promising that after the Conquest of *Milan*, he would give to the Church the Townes of *Parma* and *Placentia*, members of that Dutchy, to which the Popes had some old pretence.

Such was the origine of the first War between *Francis* and *Charles*, an. 1521. The first three or four yeares there were great exploits in *Champagne*, in *Navarra*, in *Provence*, and in the Dutchy of *Milan*. In *Tierasche* the Emperour took *Mouzan*, and besieged *Mezieres*, which *Anne de Mommorency*, who since was Constable of *France*, and *Chevalier Bayard* defended bravely. And *Francis* took *Bapaume* and *Landrety* from the Emperour, and gave him the Chase.

In *Navarra* the French had advanced but little in the years 1519. and 1520. But in the year 1521. the Admirall of *Bonnivet* besieged *Fontarabie* and took it, and made *Monsieur du Lude*, Governour of the same, who being besieged a whole year by the Spaniards, defended it with great valour, till *la Palisse* since Marshall of *France* made them forsake the Siege. But *Frauget* an old Captain being made Governour instead of *Lude*, he delivered it basely to the Spaniards, for which he was degraded of Nobility. With this the French lost all *Navarra*, and never came into it since.

For *Milan*, *Francis* having given the Government of it to the Constable *Charles de Bourbon*, he removed him and gave it to *Lautree*, of the house of *Foix*, a great Captain in the field, but an ill Politician in a State. Hee so misused the people of *Milan*, both by himself and by his brother the Marshall *de Lescur*, and together was so ill assisted with money from the Court; that the Emperour had an easie entry into the Country. *Milan* is taken, and plundered by the league of the Pope and the Emperour; and the French expelled out of the Dutchy. At which they say, that the Pope died for joy, an. 1621. Soon after the battell of *la Bicoque* was fought, which the French lost by the stubbornesse of the *Switzers*. *Lautree* being returnd into France, the Admiral *de Bonniuet* was sent to *Milan*, where hee did no better, and was forced to forsake all. In that retreat *Chevalier Bayard* was killed, an. 1523. These prosperities of the Emperour were much helpt, by the revolt of the Constable of *Bourbon*, 1522, who was incensed by the little account that *Francis* made of him, the incroaching of the Duke of *Alanson*, and the Marshall of *Bonniuet* upon his Office of Constable, by the Kings favour; the hatred of *Louise* the Kings mother, and the Chancelour *du Prat* against him; and the small justice which hee expected in a suit which

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concerned almost his whole Estate. Being turned to the Emperours party, he helped him to conquer Milan, and to give the chase to the *Admiral of Bonivet*, past into *Provence* with the Imperiall Army, besieged *Marseille*, where he is repulsed by *Renso de Cera* a Roman Baron, and *Philip de Chabot* that kept it for the King. He repasseth the Alps, and the King after him, who comming to Milan, recovereth presently the whole Dutchy, *Pavia* only accepted.

While *Francis* is besieging *Pavia* defended by *Antonio de Leva*, *Charles de Bourbon* brings Troops out of *Germany* to relieve it. The battell of *Pavia* is fought, where the victory being already on the Kings side, he would follow in person the Enemy which was retiring, and had no sooner overtaken them, but hee was taken by them, an. 1524. upon Saint *Mathias* day. *Francis* having been kept a while in the Castle of *Pissigatun*, is carried into *Spain*, and there kept Prisoner. His Kingdom labours for his deliverance & for peace. This brought forth the Treaty of *Madrid*, an. 1525, where *Gatinara* Chancellour to the Emperour, and *John de Selva* first President of *Paris*, who were the two learned among the Deputies, disputed at severall times the rights of their Masters. *Selva* claimed *Naples*, *Navarra*, and the Soverainties of *Flanders* and *Artois*.

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Gatinara claimed the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and the Dutchy of *Milan* which the Emperour then posselt. In the end, the Treaty of *Madrid* was made, where among other things it was concluded *Febr. 14. 1525*,

1. That within the 20. day of the month of *June* next, the King will put the Dutchy of *Burgundy* into the Emperours hands, with all the appurtenances and dependances thereof, and all that he holds of the *French County*.

2, That he shall renounce the Sovereignty of that Dutchy and County, and of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*.

3. That he shall renounce all his claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Genoa*, *Ast*, *Doway*, *L' Isle*, *Tournay*, and *Hesdin*.

4. That the King with all his power shal procure that *Henry d' Albret*, forsake his claim to *Navarra* in the Emperours behalf; or if *Henry* refuse it, that the King shall not assist him with his forces.

5. That the Emperour shall likewise disclaim all his right to the Counties of *Ponthieu*, *Bullen*, and *Guines*, and to the Townes of *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Peronne*, and other Towns and Lordships of *Picardy*.

Paragraphe. IV.

*From the Treaty of Madrid, to that of
Cambray.*

That period contains but four or five years, in which many considerable things did happen.

1. The King is delivered out of prison, giving his two Sons for Ostages, the *Dolphin Francis*, and *Henry Duke of Orleans*; goeth to *Bayonne* and *Bordeaux*, stayeth at *Angoulesme* and *Cognac*, accompanied with *Charles de Lanoy*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to be present at the execution of the Treaty. But that Viceroy saw in short time three actions repugnant unto it.

1. The first that the King having caused the Articles to be read in presence of the States of his Kingdom, they told him that they were unjust, contrary to the fundamentall Lawes of the State; and that he was not obliged to observe them, although the King did protest of his willingnesse to see them observed.

Two things made these Articles unjust;
1. The right of Nations, whereby all Treaties made by one kept in prison, are accounted void as extorted by violence. 2. The fundamen-

mentall Lawes of the State, by which the King is alwayes a *Minor*, as for the alienation of the royal patrimony.

The second opposition to the Treaty in the presence of the Viceroy of *Naples*, was that the Deputies of the Dutchy of *Burgundy* protested before the King, that he could not alienate them without their consent, and refused to submit themselves to the Emperour.

The third, That he saw a league made at *Cognac*, for the expelling of the Emperour out of *Italy*.

The Emperour having made himselfe formidable to all Princes, to the *Italians* especially, and going about to devest *Francesco Sforza* from *Milan*, which he had conferred upon him after the battel of *Pavia*, the Pope *Clement* the VII, King *Francis*, the *Venetians*, the *Switzers*, the *Florentines*, make a league which was called the *Sacred league*, to deliver *Italy* from oppression, without naming the Emperour, who also in a scorn was invited to make one in it, upon condition that he should restore the two Sons of France, suffer the Duke *Sforza* to live in peace, and give over the siege of the Castle of *Milan*. By that league the War was to be maintained with common charges. And because the Italian Princes might be afraid of the power of the French in *Italy*, no lesse then of that of the Emperour:

our; King *Francis* was to renounce his right to the Dutchy of *Milan* in favour of *Sforza*, for a pension which should be arbitrated by the *Pope* and the *Venetians*, not under fifty thousand Ducats. That the County of *Ast* should remaine to the King, with the Sovereignty of *Genoa*, under the Government of *Antonio d' Adornat*, with the title of Duke, if he would subscribe to that league. The Kingdom of *Naples* was to be put into the Popes hands, he paying for it sixty thousand Ducats of yearly pension. That league was publiht and proclaimed at *Cognac*, in presence of *Lanoy*, to whom the King made excuses for the inexecution of the Treaty of *Madrid*, shewing how he was disabled and declared *Minor* by the State.

3. *Lanoy* being returned into Spain, presently the Vwar of the league begins in Italy, at *Milan*, at *Rome*, and at *Naples*. At *Milan*, the Duke of *Bourbon* Generall of the imperial Army, besieged *Francis Sforza*, whom the league had taken in her protection. *Sforza* is constrained to surrender the Castle and retire into the Army of the league, the Generall whereof was *Francesco Maria*, Duke of *Urbino*. The Duke of *Bourbon* having taken *Milan*, goeth straight to *Rome*, takes it, and is killed in the assault. The Cardinalls are imprisoned and ransomed.

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At the same time *Lautree* was at *Naples* with an Army, and laid a strait siege to it by Land. And *Andrew Doria* with the Gallies of France besieged it by Sea. Yea, he won a battel by Sea, in which *Moncado* Viceroy of *Naples* was slaine. But being ill satisfied of *King Francis*, who denyed him the ransome of Prisoners, and used him with contempt, he turned to the Emperour, and relieved *Naples* with victualls by Sea. And *Lautree* presently after happening to die, the French lost all in *Italy*, and the Emperour settled himselfe in it with more power. He restored the Dutchy of *Milan* to *Sforza*, and made him marry his neece *Christina*, daughter to the King of *Denmark*. Yet he cut off from that Dutchy the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, which was made Sovereign at the request of *Andrew Doria*. He confirmed also *Parma* and *Placentia* to the Popes.

4. While this War was in *Italy*, *King Francis* made a league with *Henry the VIII.* of *England*, and both declared War against the Emperour, who having said to the Herald of France, that his Master was not in a condition to declare Warre against him, till he had disingaged his faith and fulfilled his promises, which if he repented of, that he should return into prison to make a new Treaty.

King Francis exasperated with these words,
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declared in presence of all the Court, that he would satisfie the Emperour by a Duel, and sent him a challenge, saying, that the Emperour lied, if he said that he had broken his word. The Emperour, though he made a shew to answer the challenge, kept himself still to his answer, that King *Francis* was not in a condition to require satisfaction of him, till he had discharged his promise. So all these threatnings vanisht into smoak.

5. While these Princes were thus contending, two great Princesses, *Louise* the Kings Mother, and *Margaret* the Emperours Aunt, were labouring for an accommodation. By their meanes the Treaty of *Cambray* was made, which therefore was called the Treaty of *Ladies*, it was in the year 1529. By that Treaty a marriage was concluded between King *Francis* and *Eleanor* the Emperours sister, widow to the King of *Portugal*; and it was agreed that King *Francis* should pay two millions of Gold for the ransome of his Sons. And that he should disclaim all his rights to the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and (as some adde) to whole *Italy*, which is like enough, since the Treaty of *Cambray* changed nothing in that of *Madrid*, but that there was no mention of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

Paragraphe V.

From the Treaty of Cambray, an. 1529.
to that of Crespy, an. 1544.

By the Treaty of *Cambray*, War ceased between these two Princes, but not the jealousies and hatred: Yet they kept peace till the year 1533. when *Merville* an Italian Gentleman, the Kings servant, was condemned and executed at *Milan*, becaule some of his servants had killed a man. But the secret and true reason was, that the Emperour had complained to Duke *Sforza*, that this *Merville* was at *Milan* as a Spy for the French, which was true; yea he was a secret Embassadour, and *Sforza* had desired that he should not openly take the title of Embassadour, for fear of offending the Emperour. That murder of *Merville* broke the peace; for the King taking Armes to chastise *Sforza*, the Emperour also took arms to defend him. It was at that time that King *Francis* instituted a new form of Militia, which was called *Legionary*.

The Emperour also was incensed by the alliance which the King had made with the German Princes Protestant (though perhaps that name was not yet in fashion) who being persecuted by the Emperour for their Religion,

July 1. 1533
See y^e occasion
in y^e French
history pag.
638. Vide
Montaigne
Essais lib.
1. cap. 9.

on had their refuge to the French King, as the antient confederate of the Princes of Germany, for the defence of the Rights and Liberties of the Empire. These Princes were the Duke of Saxony, the Palatine, the Duke of Bavier, the Duke of Wertenberg, the Lantgrave of Hesse. Yea, he lent a hundred thousand Crowns to the Duke of Virtemberg, who engaged to him the County of Montbeliard. But that engagement was simulate, and Francis did very willingly assist the Enemies of Charles. These were the motives and occasions of this War. Of which, these were the chief passages.

I. Francis to passe to Milan, demands of Charles Duke of Savoy, passage through his Country. The Duke denies it by the instigation of Beatrix of Portugal his wife, sister in law to the Emperor, & very partial for him. That deniall cost the Duke the losse of all his Lands, both of Savoy and Piemont, which the King took, and kept them till the Treaty of Chasteau in Cambrejs, an. 1559. The pretence of that invasion was the right which Francis pretended in these States from his Mother Louise of Savoy. A little before that invasion, the Emperour seeing that thick cloud threatning Milan, himself returning from Tunis with a weary and broken Army, sends to the K. propositions of peace, & many

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fair words. Yet he stood so stiffely upon the Treaties before, very advantageous for him, that the King would not hearken to him, perceiving that he would only protract the time till he had recrewted his Army. Besides *Francis Sforza* being dead without children, at the same time the Emperour had seized upon the Duchy of *Milan*. And it was reported, that he intended to bestow it upon a Sonne of *Portugal*, his wives brother. For these reasons these two Princes fall to action. The King conquereth *Savoy and Piemont*, and the Emperour fortifies himself at *Milan*.

2. The Emperour passeth into *Italy*, visits the Pope, *Paul III*, an. 1536, and in presence of the *Conclave*, inveighs against *Francis*, relating all that past between them ever since they came to their States, reproaching him especially for joining with the Princes of contrary Religion in *Germany*: And offereth three conditions to the King to choose which he would. The first was to give the Duchy of *Milan* to the Kings third Son, the Duke of *Angoulesme*, not willing to give it either to the *Dolphin*, or to the Duke of *Orleans*, for fear (said he) of giving jealousie to the Italian Princes, if persons so near the Crown grew to powerfull in *Italy*, especially the Duke of *Orleans*, who had lately married *Catherine de Medicis*, which had some pretences upon
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Florence and *Urbino*. If the King accepted that condition, he desired to know what assistance he would give him against the Turk and the Heretiques. The Emperours second offer was, to fight a Duell with the King, either upon the Land or in a Boat. That he left to the King the choice of the Armes; That the vanquished should give all his forces to secure the sitting of a Council, and to make War against the Heretiques and Infidells. That the King should deposite the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and himself that of *Milan* to be the price of the Victory. The third offer was, that if the King refused these two conditions, he declared mortall War unto him, till one of the two was made the poorest gentleman of his Kingdom. The King purged himself to the Pope by letters of all the Emperours accusations.

The War grows hot in *Piemont*, an. 1536. Many exploits are done, *Fossan* is besieged by *Antonio de Leva* for the Emperour, and taken. The *Marquis of Saluces* leaves the Kings service and turns to the Emperour, who enters into *Provence*, and besiegeth *Marseille*, but in vain, being defended by the Kings presence, and by the generosity of *Ann de Montmorency*, who since was Constable of *France*. The Emperour is beaten out of *Provence*. At the same time the Count of *Nassau* makes some ex-

plotts in *Picardy* for the Emperour, takes *Guise*, besiegeth *Peronne*, but is repulsed.

4. *Jean Capell* the Kings Attourney General, moveth the Parliament that a *proces* be made against *Charles* as Felon, and Traitor against his Sovraign, of whom he held the Counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charolois*, in fee. The Court of Peers hereupon assembled decree, that *Charles* should be cited with sound of Trumpet, upon the frontier of his States, to appear before them. And he not appearing, he was condemned, and his Dominions depending from the Crown were confiscated. Presently after, the King tooke many places in *Artois*.

An. 1538. the Pope *Paul* the III. comes to *Nice*, where both the Emperour and the King met also; the Pope communing separately with each of them, for hee could not obtaine of them that they should see one another. Yet they concluded a truce for ten years. That meeting being ended, the King returnes into *France*, the Emperour into *Spain*, but seeth the King by the way at *Acquismortes*; They confirme the truce, and are civill one to another. Shortly after, the City of *Ghent* being revolted, and having killed their Magistrates, *Charles* desireth *Francis* to give him passage through his Lands, which the King granted him. In that passage the Emperour re-

received all the royall honours. The King went to meet him at *Chastellerant*. In that interview, the Emperour gave th King some hope to give him satisfaction about the Dutchy of *Milan*.

6. *An. 1641*. the King sent *Antony Rincot*, a Spaniard that had taken sanctuary in France, to the Turk, and *Cesar Fregosa* to the *Venetians*. Both were slain upon the River of *Po*, going to Venice by Boat. This murder was done by the order of the *Marquess du Guast* Governour of *Milan*, who hoped thereby to get their Papers and Instructions, but they had been sent to *Venice* another way. The *Marquess* was accused and convicted of the fact by those that executed it, who were taken at *Venice*. Upon this the King breaks the truce of tens years. The *Dolphin*, who was since *Henry the II*, falls upon the *Roussillon*, besieged *Perpignan*, but is repulsed with losse. *Charles Duke of Orleans*, seizeth upon *Lutzenburg*. The Emperour on the other side makes a league with the King of *England*, enters *Picardie*, besiegeth *Landrecy*, but *Francis* relieveth it, and driveth the Emperour from the siege: *Barbarissa* the Turk comes by Sea to the Kings help, takes the Town of *Nice*, wasteth those coasts of the Mediterranean sea, & goeth away having done little good to the French, and ill satisfied of them, having

given a great matter of obloquy against *Francis*, to the Christian Princes.

In *Piemont*, after many exploits on both sides, the famous battel of *Cerisoles* was fought *an. 1544.* and won by the French, the French Generall being the Duke of *Anguien*, the *Spaniard*, the *Marquess du Guast*.

At this time *Ferdinand* King of the Romans, brother to *Charles* the Emperour, being fore prest by the Turk in *Hungary*, sends a Dominican Fryer, his Confessor to *Charles* to exhort him to peace; *Charles* is perswaded to it, and *Francis* also. Their Deputies meet at *St. John des Vignes*, in the Suburbs of *Soissons*, and begin a Treaty which soon after was concluded at *Crespy in Valois*, of which these were the chiefe conditions.

That *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, the Kings second Son, should marry the Emperours Daughter, or that of *Ferdinand* King of the Romans, at the Emperours choice within six yeares; and for her portion, that the Emperour should invest the said Duke with the Dutchy of *Milan*, or the County of *Flanders*, or *Charolais*, or *Franch County*, at the Emperours choyce likewise. And that upon his investiture with one of these, the King should renounce all his claim to all the rest, and to the Kingdom of *Naples*. That till there were Children born by that marriage, if the Emperour

perour had before assigned the Dutchy of Milan for the Ladies portion, he should retain in his power the Castles of Milan and Cremona.

That the King should restore to Charles Duke of Savoy, all that he had taken from him on both sides of the Alpes; yet that he might retain the Citadels as long as the Emperours kept the Castles of Milan and Cremona.

That both the Emperour and the King should restore all that they had taken the one from the other, since the truce made at Nice by the Popes mediation. This Treaty beares date of Octob. 18. 1544. and was executed, but the King restored many more places then the Emperour.

Paragraphe VI.

From the Treaty of Crespy 1544, to that of Chasteau en Cambresis, an. 1559.

Francis out-lived three years the Treaty of Crespy, all which time he had no War with Charles, who had retired himself to Bruxelles. Francis being dead, his Son Henry the II. succeeded him, who also had no War with the Emperour till the year 1550. Two accidents made the old jealousy to break into open War.

1. The Pope, *Paul* the III. had invested his Bastard, *Peter Lewis Farnesio*, with the Towns of *Parma* and *Placentia*, which the Emperour had yieled to the Church upon the claime of *Leo* the X. without much examining the Popes right, onely because it had been so covenanted when the Pope and the Emperour united themselves to expell the French out of Italy, an. 1521. That investiture troubled *Charles* afterwards, who pretended, either that these Towns should remaine united to the patrimony of the Church, or that in case of alienation they should return to the Duchy of *Milan*. Now this *Peter Lewis, Farnesio*, having made himsele odious to his subjects, by his cruelty and impudicity, was slain by the people of *Placentia*, who put themselves under the Emperours protection. At the same time *Paul* the III, being dead, *Jules* the III, that succeeded him, maintained at the first *Octavio*, Son to *Peter Lewis*, in the investiture of *Parma* and *Placentia*. But soon after repenting of that donation which he saw to be displeasing to the Colledge of Cardinals, joyned with the Emperour for the dispossessing of *Octavio*, who put himself in *Henry* the II, his protection; and that King powerfully assisted him both against the Pope and the Emperour, and was at such odds with the Pope, as to prohibit the bringing of any
mo-

money out of France to Rome. At which the Pope amazed, desired peace of the King, and desired to oppose *Octavio*, yea and caused the Emperour to restore *Placentia* to *Octavio*, since which time *Octavio* and his successours have enjoyed *Parma* and *Placentia*. At the same time the King protected also the Prince of *Mirandola*, whom the Pope would oppress.

Before that time, *an. 1545.* the Emperour got a great victory over the Protestant Princes of Germany. Their two chiefe men, *Friederick Elector of Saxony*, and *Philip Landgrave of Hesse* were taken prisoners. Whereby the Protestant party was so humbled, that in the year 1550. they implored the help of *Henry the II.* of France, who past into Germany to relieve them.

The Constable of *Montmorency* in his way seized upon the Townes of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, upon the Rights which we have set down in the third Chapter. That enterpize of *Henry* in favour of the Protestants, made the Emperour conclude a peace with them in haste. So that the King being come to *Strasbourg*, was desired by them to return, because they were agreed with the Emperour. Returning from Germany, he took many Towns in *Lutzenburg*, *Rochemars*, *Danvilliers*, *Ivoy*, *Bouvillon*. And the Emperour towards the end of the year 1551. besiegeth *Metz*, so well
de.

defended by *Francis Duke of Guise*, that the siege was raised the first day of the year 1552 *Terrouenne* is taken and razed by the Emperour.

The people of *Siena* fearing lest that *Cosmo de Medicis*, Duke of *Florence*, should make himself Master of their Commonwealth, had put themselves into the Emperours hands hoping that he would bring them in their liberty. But seeing that he would bring them under the subjection of *Cosmo*, they called *Henry* the II, to their help, who gave them *Blaise de Montlue* for their Governour, who since was Marshal of France; in his Commentaries he hath described how that City was besieged. But in the end they were forced to submit to the *Florentine*.

In the year 1555. the Emperour *Charles* resigned the Imperial Crown to his brother *Ferdinand*, and all his other Estates to his Son *Philip* the II. A Treaty of Peace betweene *Henry* and *Philip*, was moved near *Ardres*, and perfected near *Cambray*, an. 1556. for ten yeares, and sworne by the two Kings Feb. 6.

But presently after the death of *Jule* the III. and the Pontificat of *Marcel* the II. which lasted but two and twenty dayes, the peace was broken upon the Election of *Paul* the IV. a Neapolitan of the house of *Caraffa*, allied to that of *Melfa*, which had alwayes been of
the

the French faction, and was odious to the Spaniards, who used all their power to hinder his election; And when in spite of them he was elected, they raised two powerfull Families of *Rome* against him, the *Columna's* and the *Vitelli's*, who revolted against the Pope, being assisted by *Philip*. The King sends help to the Pope, so the Truce is broken. Many exploits of Arms were done about *Rome*. But, *Octob. 14. 1557*, the Pope and the Spaniard agreed, and *Henry* called his Army back.

But at the same time *Philip* having married Queen *Mary* of *England*, made his wife declare War to *Henry* by a Herald of Arms, who spoke to the King himself at *Reims*, whence followed many various effects of war in *Picardie* and *Champagne*, till the memorable battell of *Saint Quintin* lost by the French, an. 1557. where the Constable was taken. But *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, newly returned from *Italy*, revived the sad condition of *France* by the taking of *Calais*, *Guines*, the Land of *Oye*, and the Town of *Thionville*.

The two Armies of these two Princes being both in sight one of another in *Picardy*, near the River of *Somme*, the Constable of *France* and the Marshall *Saint Andrew*, both Prisoners of the Spaniard, the Popes Nuntio
and

and *Christina Dowager of Lorrain*, Cosen-german to *Philip*, manage a peace which was concluded at *Chasteau in Cambresis*, in *February 1559*. By the first Article of that Treaty the French King was to execute religiously all the Treaties made between *Charles the V*, and *Francis the I*. (whereby they understood the cessions made of *Naples, Milan, Flanders, and Artois*) unlesse the present Treaty did contradict it; but that Treaty mentioned onely the restitutions of the Towns taken on both sides, and the rendition of the States of *Savoy* and *Piemont* to *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*. Also by that Treaty a marriage was agreed on between *Philip*, then newly a Widower by the death of *Queen Mary of England*, and *Elizabeth* daughter to *Henry the II*. which for that reason was called the *Queen of Peace*. In the celebration of that marriage, *Henry the II* was slain.

Paragraphe VII.

From the peace of Chasteau in Cambresis, 1559. to the death of the Duke of Alençon, 1584.

There was no open war between the two Crownes all that time which comprehends the

the reign of *Francis the II*, *Charles the IX*, and great part of that of *Henry the III*. But by the vertue of that *Queen of peace*, the Union was so great, that the troubles of Religion being risen in *France*, *Philip* assisted the French Kings with his Armes.

Under Francis the II.

In this reign of nineteen months, the History observeth two notable things, which are much for our purpose.

1. The State of *France* being in trouble at the entry of this reign, by the great favour of the *Guises*, Unkles to *Queen Mary of Scotland*, wife to *Francis the II*, and by the Queen-mother *Catherine de Medicis*, who took the Regency of the Kingdome to the prejudice of *Anony of Bourbon*, King of *Navarra*, and first Prince of the blood of *France* after the Kings brothers, who being kept low, and all the house of *Bourbon* with him seemed to threaten *France* of a Civil War. *Philip the II* considering that State of *France*, sent to *Francis the II* a letter which was read in the Councell, whereby he said, that he had heard how some great men of *France* being ill satisfied of the Government establisht by him, his brother in law *Francis*, threatned his State of a Civill War. That he *Philip* was ready to imploy

ploy all his Forces, and his life, to make him obeyed as his good confederate and neighbour, remembring the good instructions, and the holy education which his Father *Charles the V.* had received from *Lewis the XII.* his Guardian.

2. The house of *Bourbon*, being degraded from the rank it ought to have had in the Court, *Antony King of Navarra* retired into *Bearn*; and when the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the *Prince de la Roche sur Yon*, conducted the Queen of *Spain* to her husband, he bore them company. Now because by the Treaty of marriage, that Princess was to be delivered to *Philip* upon the frontiers of *Spain*, the *Duke de l'Infantasque*, and the Cardinall of *Burgos* came to receive her in the Abbey of *Roncevaux*, which was in *Navarra*. There King *Antony* protested that the Queen was not delivered upon the frontiers of *Spain*, but in the heart of his own Kingdom, that none should believe hereafter that *Roncevaux* did belong to the King of *Spain*.

Under Charles the IX.

1. All this reign past among civill confusions about Religion, and scarce any dispute was between the two Crowns. Yea *Philip* furnished *Charles* many times with Forces to subdue

due his Protestant subjects. Only these things are to be remembred for our purpose.

1. After the first peace with the Protestants, *an.* 1564, *Charles* made a progress about his Kingdom, and saw his sister *Elizabeth* Queen of *Spain* at *Bayonne*. There the Queen-mother had an earnest and secret conference with the Duke of *Alba*. It is thought they agreed about a mutuall assistance between the two Crowns, against the Protestants of *France* and *Netherlands*; for in that year 1565. they began to stir in those Dominions of the Spaniard. *Philip* assisted *Charles* with some Troops, which kindness *Charles* could not return, the fire being kindled in all the parts of his Kingdom.

2. *An.* 1566. two things were near to have made a breach between the two States. *Bertrand de Montlue*, whom his Father in his Commentaries calleth, Captaine *Peyrot*, seeing peace in *France*, undertakes to make some conquest upon the Sea, comes to the Isle of *Madera*, subject to *Portugal*, and desiring to take water, is repulsed with Canon-shot, upon which he makes a descent into the Iland with strong hand, besiegeth the Town, takes it, but is slain in that exploit. A complaint is made of this to *Philip*, as Uncle to the King of *Portugal*, as an infraction of the Treaty, in which *Portugal* was comprehended. *Philip*
in-

incenseth *Charles* against his own subjects about this, but the Admiral appeaseth *Charles*, shewing that it was but a mis-understanding among private persons.

Another businesse of that nature was that of *Gourgues*. *Dominique de Gourgues* was a Captain of *Gascony*, who in the Wars of *Italy* had been taken by the Spaniards, and ill used in prison. To be avenged of them, he went to *Florida* in the West-Indies, besieged the Fort which the Spaniards kept there, takes it by force, kills or hangs all the Souldiers, then returnes into France. Of this, *Philip* makes high complaint unto *Charles*, and *Gourgues* was in great danger of his life; but he was protected by the Admirall of *Chastillon*, a Protestant, and an enemy to the Spaniards. He represented unto the King, that it was an Act of private revenge. Also, that a little before *Melander*, a Spanish Captaine, had expelled out of the same Fort in *Florida*, *John Rebaut* of *Diepe*, with five hundred French-men, whom he had killed or hanged every man with this inscription.

Not as to French-men, but as to Lutherans.

The wisest French Historians affirm, and so did *Gourgues* himselfe; That not any private revenge, but the desire to punish that horrible
treas-

treachery and murther upon his Countrymen, made him undertake and atchieve that high enterprife.

An. 1570. Charles married *Elizabeth* daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, a virtuous Princess, much beloved of her Husband. Shortly after *Philip* married another daughter of the same Emperour. This double affinity did confirm the friendship betwixt the two Crowns.

Under Henry the III.

Henry the III. returning out of *Poland*, an. 1574. passeth through *Vienna*, where he is well received by the Emperour *Maximilian*, although one of his Sons had been *Henries* competitor for the Crown of *Poland*. Yea, the Emperour gave him wholsome counsels for settling peace in his State.

An. 1577. The Protestants of *Netherlands* being oppressed by the Spaniard, and little helped by *Matthias* brother to the Emperour *Rodolphus*, whom both Papists and Protestants had chosen for the expulsion of the Spaniard, the States of those Provinces called *Francis* Duke of *Alanson*, the French Kings brother, who in his way thither, made himselfe Master of the City of *Cambray*; but being ill used by the Dutch, he returned home with-

out doing any thing. But in the yeare 1582. he came againe with the title of Duke of Brabant, and Count of Flanders, but he made no long stay there, having made a malicious attempt upon *Antwerp* and other Towns; and returning full of shame, he dyed at *Chasteau Thierry*, an. 1584. These enterprises of the Duke of *Alanson*, bred great jealousies between the two Crowns, and were taken for a breach of the peace. Wherefore also *Philip* assisted the League of France against the Royal house with great eagernesse.

An. 1579. *Sebastian* King of Portugal being dead in *Africa*, *Philip* King of *Spain* got the Kingdom, an. 1580. Among his Competitors was *Antony* bastard of *Lewis*, Prince Constable of Portugal, but pretending himselfe a lawfull Son, as legitimated by the Pope *Antony*, expelled by *Philip*, retired into *England*, where finding no countenance he passeth into *France*, agreeth with *Katherine the Queen-mother*, who (as I shewed in the third Chapter) had great pretences to the Crown of Portugal; and for some Lands in Portugal which he promiseth her, she gives him helpe, and raiseth an Army of French-men under *Peter Strozzi*. They go to the *Terceras*, where some Lands held for *Antony*, where they had very ill success. That enterprise exasperated *Philip* very much, so that he was one of the first

first that signed the *League*. Some think it began at the death of the Duke of *Alanson*, when none remained of all the house of *Valois* but *Henry* the III, who had no Children, and was not like to have any; and the house of *Bourbon* (saving onely the old *Cardinall of Bourbon*) was Protestant or favourer of Protestants. This encouraged the Spaniard to trouble the State of France, and the house of *Guise* to set up for themselves, under pretence of zeal of Religion.

Paragraphe VIII.

From the death of the Duke d'Alanson,
1584. to the Treaty of Ver-
vins, 1598.

This date comprehends the end of *Henry* the III. and the beginning of *Henry* the IV.

Under Henry the III.

Without examining the severall designs of the *League*; this onely we must know, that after the death of the Duke of *Alanson*, the Duke of *Guise* having formed the *League*, made a Treaty with *Philip* the II, of *Spain*, at *Joinville*, whereby *Philip* promist him a monthly pension of fifty thousand Crowns

to foment the *League*, which being not openly against the King, but after the killing of the *Guises* at *Blois*; and the King himselfe having entred into the *League*, under the title of *Holy league against the Heretiques*; the animosities and designs of the King of *Spain*, against the State of France, were not plainly detected under this raigne.

Under Henry the IV.

Here the *League* did rage, and civill War was in all parts of France. In these troubles *Philip* had a great hand, and *Henry* being once acknowledged King, was even with him, and powerfully Warred against him. But these things must be seen in order.

Henry the III, being stabbed, an. 1589. after he had seen the revolt of most part of his Kingdome; *Henry* the IV succeeded him, and is acknowledged by the Protestants and part of the Papists. The *Duke du Maine* who kept *Paris*, receiveth *Baptista Taxis*, and others for the King of *Spain*, who raise parties for the degrading of the House of *Bourbon*, and the advancing of the *League*. In *March* 1590. *Philip* publisheth an Edict, whereby he exhorteth all Catholique Princes to joyne with him for the deliverance of *Charles* the X, (meaning the Cardinall of

Bour-

Bourbon, whom the League had made King)
to the exclusion of the rest of the House of
Bourbon.

The same yeare 1590, King *Henry* besiegeth *Paris*. *Philip* sends the Duke of *Parma* out of *Flanders* with a great Army, who takes *Lagny* and raiseth the siege of *Paris*. The next yeare after, the Cardinall of *Bourbon* being dead, the Leaguers consult about the election of a King. Many of the *Seize*, that is of the sixteen men that governed *Paris*, affected to the Spanish party, vote for *Philips* Daughter, *Clara Eugenia Isabella*, of which claime we have spoken before. But the Duke *du Maine*, who desired rather to have the Crown either for himselfe, or for some of his house, protracted that businesse, and turned it over to the States Generall of the League. And in the mean while sent President *Jannin* into Spain, unto whom *Philip* promist all assistance to the League, upon condition that his Daughter should be acknowledged Queen, either alone, or with such a Husband as she should chuse. That President returned, much offended with *Philips* proceeding, especially because speaking of the Towns of France, he would say, *My City of Paris*, *My city of Orleans*; and ever since solicited the Duke *du Maine* to reconcile himselfe with the King.

An. 1591. King Henry the IV, besiegeth and presseth *Rouen* very sore. The Duke of *Parma* returneth, and maketh him raise the siege. Before the Duke of *Parma* came into *France*, he propounded two conditions to the Duke du *Maine*; the one, that he should put the Town of *La Fere* into his hands, which he did, and the *Parmezian* put a Garrison in it of four hundred Spaniards. The other, that he should press the assembly of the States of the League, to declare the *Infanta* Queen of *France*. Du maine promist him to move the Assembly about it, and gave him hope that King *Philip* should be contented.

In January, 1593. was the opening of the States of the League, where the Duke of *Feria* extraordinary Embassador of *Spain*, declared his Masters zeal for the defence of Religion, desired them to chuse a Catholique King, and to preserve unto the *Infanta* of *Spain*, the right she had to the Crown of *France*. Upon which that famous Arrest or sentence was given by the Parllament for the maintaining of the *Salique* Law. And though afterwards the Spaniards proposed the marriage of the *Infanta* with the Duke of *Guisse*, or with *Ernestus* brother to the Emperour *Rodolphus*, they were rebuked by the States, as making a proposition contrary to the *Salique* Law. When they prest againe, that the *Infanta* should be

ac-

acknowledged Queen with such a Prince as *Philip* should name within two months, they were answered, that when the States had chosen a Catholique Prince, if he was not married, they would consent that he should marry the *Infanta*. But the hope which *Henry* gave at the same time to the party of the *League*, that he would come to their Religion, destroyed all these designs of the Spaniard, and he was anointed King at *Chartes* in the beginning of the year 1594, and soon after entered into *Paris*, whence the Duke of *Ferris* departed with the Spanish Garrison.

The same year The Duke *du Main* having lost *Paris*, and seeing the *League* falling to pieces, went to *Bruxelles*, and asked succour of *Ernest of Austria*, Governour of the Country, who sent *Charles Count of Mansfeld* into *France*. *Mansfeld* takes *la Capelle*, and returns into *Flanders*. But *Henry* having laid the Siege to *Laon*, *Mansfeld* returns, and in vain endeavoureth to make him raise the siege. The King takes *Laon*, passeth to *Cambray*, an Imperiall Town which *Balagni* held with the Title of Prince, since the first voyage of the Duke of *Alanson*. The King confirmeth that principality to him, under the protection of *France*.

Towards the end of the year 1594. *Henry* having broken most part of the *League*, de-

clareth War to the Spaniard by the counsell of the Duke of *Bovillon*, by reason of *Philips* open enmity against him, and the assistance which he had given to the League, and because he held from him *La Fere*, and *La Capelle*. That Declaration being made to the *Archduke Ernest*, he answered, that he would send word of it to King *Philip*; and a delay of two months being granted, War was proclaimed by a Herald. The War begins. The Duke of *Bovillon* hath ill successe in *Lutsemburg*. King *Henry* passeth into *Burgundy*, makes his entry into *Dijon*, notwithstanding the resistance of the Duke du *Main*, and wins the battell of *Fontaine Francoise* in *Burgundy*, against the Duke du *Maine*, and the Constable of *Castilia*. The Count of *Fuentes* takes from him *Catelet*, *Dourlans*, and *Han*, and *Cambray* from *Balagni*. Marshall d' *Aumont* opposeth the Spaniards in *Britain*, into which they were let in by the Duke of *Mercoeur*, Governour of *Britain* for the League, who had delivered *Blavet* into their hands.

An. 1595. King *Henry* got his absolution from Pope *Clement* the VIII. The Spaniards opposed it, representing *Henry* to the Pope as relapsed and impenitent; but *Du Perron* and d' *Offat*, since made Cardinalls, overcame that party.

In the year 1596. *Charles de Casaut*, and

Louis d' Aix Viguier of *Marseille*, treat with the Spaniard to deliver the City into his hands. But *Peter Liberta* kept it in the obedience of his Sovereign *Henry*, and killed *Casaut* with his own hand.

The same year *Albert* Cardinall of *Austria*, Governour of *Netherlands*, takes *Calais* and *Ardres*, and *Henry* retakes *la Fere*. He makes alliance with *Queen Elizabeth* of *England*, with the States of *Holland*, and with the Princes of *Germany*.

In the year 1597. *Ferdinand Teil* a Spanish Captain, surpriseth *Amiens*, which suddenly is retaken by *Henry*. Cardinal *Albert* in vain attempted to relieve it.

The year before, the Cardinal of *Medicis*, who since was *Leo* the XI. being in *France* to procure the execution of the Articles promist by the King when he received his absolution from the Pope, had been preparing his mind towards a peace with *Philip* the II. who seeing himself very old and drooping to the grave, sought to leave his Dominions peaceable to his Son, who was but weak in body and mind. *Henry* also desired to give peace to his subjects, tired and exhausted with continuall Wars forty yeares together. So that Cardinall with the Generall of the Franciscans, *Bonaventure*, *Calatagirona* a Sicilian, disposed both the parties to a Treaty. The place

place was chosen for it at *Vervins* in *February*, 1598. where a perpetuall peace was concluded between the two Crowns. And the Treaty of *Chasteau in Cambresis*, an. 1559. was confirmed with the restitution of places on both sides; And the frontiers between the two States, settled as they have been kept till the rupture of the year 1635.

There, upon the dispute for precedence of *Embassadours*, the *Legat* devised this expedient. Hee sitting under a *Canopy* at the boards end, set the *Popes Nuntio* at his right hand, and after him the *Embassadours* of *Spain*, *John Richardot*, President of the Council of State in *Flanders*, *John Baptista Taxis* a Knight of the Order of Saint *Jago*; and *Lewis Verriken* first Secretary of State in *Flanders*. At his left hand were the French *Embassadours*, *Monsieur de Belliure*, and *Monsieur de Sillery*, of whom the first was over against the *Nuntio*, and so preceded by one degree the first of the Spaniards.

CHAP. V.

*The Affaires between the two Crowns
from the Treaty of Vervins till
now.*

THAT space of time wee will subdivide
into three.

1. From the Treaty of *Vervins* to the death
of *Henry* the IV.
2. From that death to the rupture between
the two States.
3. From that rupture till now.

Paragraphe I.

*From the Treaty of Vervins to the death
of Henry the IV.*

After the Treaty of *Vervins*, the two States
kept reasonable good intelligence. *Philip* the
II. died in the time of the Treaty.

The first difference between *Henry* and
Philip the III King of *Spain*, was about the
Marquesat of Saluces, which *Henry* redeman-
ded of the Duke of *Savoy*, who did nothing but
by the order of the Councell of *Spain*; And
the

the Spaniard would not suffer the French to possesse any thing in *Italy*. An exchange then was made of *Bresse* for the *Marquesat*. Herein *Philip* did nothing against the alliance. For the *Duke* having broken his word with *Henry*, *Philip* refused to assist him, and to be a favourer of his perfidioufnesse, although the Count of *Fuentes* raised great forces to assist him.

In the year 1602. was the conspiracy of the Duke of *Biron*. It was believed that the King of *Spain* had a share in his designs. But the depositions of the witnesses against him, speak only of Treaties and Intelligences with the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the sharing of the State of *France* among the conspiratours. Yet they said that *Biron* should have had the *Dutchy of Burgundy*, *Franch County*, and *Bresse* under the protection of the King of *Spain*. *Fontanelles* a Gentleman of *Britain*, who was convicted to have been one of the conspiratours, for which he was put to death, was accused to have treated with the Spaniard to deliver the *Ile of Tristan* in *Britain* into his hands. But *Henry*, who had no mind to break with Spaniard, would take no notice of that treachery.

The Spaniards pretence for these secret plots against *France*, was that *Henry* assisted the Rebels of *Holland* with men and money. Which the Spanish Embassadour having com-

complained of, he answered that the money which he sent to the *Hollanders* was to pay his debts, for monies lent to him during the civil Wars.

As for the French Souldiers that served the *Hollanders*, he could not hinder his subjects to take party where they listed, and that some of them also served the *Archiduke*. Howsoever that assistance was so resented by the Spaniards, that they lost no occasion to stir disorders in *France*.

Many things hapned in the yeares 1605. and 1606. which shewed the enmity of the Spaniard against *France*. As the Treason of *Losfe*, Secretary to Mr. *de Villeroy*, who had intelligence with the Ministers of *Spain*, and let them know all the secrets of the Cabinet Councell. He was discovered by one *Rassis* a Frenchman, that had taken Sanctuary in *Spain*. *Losfe* ran away, and in his flight was drowned in the River of *Marne*, so no more could be known of that Treason.

Then the Lady *Marquesse of Vernuiel* ill satisfied of King *Henry*, whom she accused to have broken his promise to her, treates with the Spaniard, and inveigleth into her treason her Father *d' Antraques*, and her brother the Count of *Auvergne*, since Duke of *Angoulesm*. Their design was to retire to the Spaniard, and to make one day that Ladies Son a stone of

of scandall unto *France*. Being discovered, all three were convicted and condemned to death. But the King gave them their grace.

In the year 1605. the reliques of *Biron's* conspiracy appeared in the Provinces of *Perigord Limousin and Quercy*. All was done under the name of the Duke of *Bouillon*. Whether the Spaniard had a hand in it or no, it was not known.

At the same time *Adairargues* a Gentleman of *Provence* treated with the Spaniard to yeild *Marseille* unto him. He was discovered and taken conferring with the Secretary of the Spanish Embassadour, and put to death. This passage was near to have caused a breach between the two Crowns, for the Embassadour of *Spain* expostulated with the French King, because against the Law of Nations his Secretary had been taken and committed to prison. The King justified the fact, saying, that he was found monopolizing against this State. Nevertheless all was suddenly appeased: Although at the same time another Treason was discovered, a plot upon *Laucaie* by two brothers *Luquisses*, who had been won by the Governour of *Perpignan*.

In the year 1608. *Henry the IV.* mediated a truce between the King of *Spain* and the *Hollanders*. At the same time the *Morisco's* of *Spain*

Spain secretly implored his aide against the oppression of the Spaniards. But he sent them back, saying, that he would not be the first that should break peace, but that if he was compelled to make War, he might make use of their proffers.

Paragraphe II.

From the death of *Henry the IV.* to the rupture betweene the two Crowns an. 1635.

A yeere before the Kings death an. 1609. *John William Duke of Cleves and Juilliers* being dead without issue left his succession disputable betweene the Emperour *Rodolphus* who said it was devolved to the Empire, and the children of foure sisters of that Duke married in the houses of *Brandenburg, Neuburg, Deuxponts, and Burgan*. It was thought that the great Army which *Henry* had prepared a little before his death was intended to assist these Princes against the Emperour. It seemes the *Queene Regent* knew so much, for when the *Archiduke Leopold* had seized upon *Juilliers* after the Kings death She sent *Marshall de la Castre* to assist these Princes, to whom he caused *Juilliers* to be surrendred. There the French had to doe with the house of Austria, of the German branch.

In

In the year 1612. the two Crownes were allied by the marriages, of *Lewis the XIII.* with *Anne* daughter to *Philip the III.* and of *Philip Prince of Spaine* (who is now *Philip the IV.*) with *Elizabeth* eldest daughter of *Henry the IV.* And in the yeare 1615. these marriages were accomplisht at *Bordeaux*. The world was full of hope that this double alliance would strengthen the peace betweene the two Crownes.

An. 1616 the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* being in War one against another about *Montferrat*, the Kings of France and Spain intervened to make them friends. And this was done without prejudice to the peace betweene the two States.

Valteline is a vally seated between *Germany*, the *Venetians*, the *Dutchy of Milan*, & the *Grisons*. It was in old time a part of the *Dutchy of Milan*, or at least an appurtenance of the same. And was engaged to the *Grisons* by *Lewis the XII.* for foure hundred thousand pounds arrear, due to them for their service in the conquest of *Milan*, since which time it was subject to the *Grisons*. But the differences of Religion intervening and the *Grisons* being turned Protestants for the most part, *Valtolina* kept for the most part the Religion of *Milan*. Which made them desire to shake the yoke of the *Grisons* and
returne

returne under the subjection of *Milan*, invited to it by the Spaniards. So that *an. 1619.* the great revolt began, and the *Valtolins* expell the *Grisons* their Masters. Who had recourse to the protection of *France*, by whom they held that Countrey. King *Lewis the XIII.* sends *Monsieur de Bassompierre* into *Spaine* to *Philip the IV.* (for *Philip the III.* was lately dead) who granted according to the *Treaty of Madrid* that all garrisons of strangers should depart out of *Valtolina*, and that order should be taken for the maintaining of the *Catholique Religion*. The *Duke of Feria* having refused to execute that command, and the *Valtolins* unwilling to returne to the obedience of the *Grisons*. King *Lewis* exhorted the *Switzers* and *Grisons* to maintaine their rights, and sent them an Embassadour the *Marquis de Coenures* whom he made afterwards *General* of their army and *Marshall* of *France*, known by the name of *Marshall d'Estree*. Then did the French and the Spaniards fight, yet without breaking the *Treaty of Vervins* because both acted for their confederates.

Pope Urban the VIII. having made himselfe *Depositary* of the principal places of *Valolipa*, sent his nephew *Cardinal Barbarini* into *France an. 1625.* who not being able to make an accommodation, as pretending

to deliver *Valtolina* from the obedience of the *Grifons*, war began in *Italie* by the alliance made betweene the *French* and the *Duke of Savoy* against *Genoa* which was assisted by the *Spaniard*. Thus these quarrels upon the by, came very neer to an absolute rupture betweene the two Nations. For at the same time some *Spanish* ships passing from *Barcelona* to *Genoa* and driven upon the coasts of *Marseille* were arrested by the *Duke of Guise*. Of which the *Genoese* complained to the King of *Spaine*, whose Councel irritated with these wars, and with the taking of many places about *Genoa*, gave order that all *French* ships in the havens of *Spaine*, should be arrested, and all the goods of the *French* trafficquing in *Spaine*, seized upon. The Councell of *France* to bee even with them made two *Edicts*; the one to forbid all traffick with *Spaine*, the other to seize upon all ships of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Naples* and other places of the *Spanish* dominions; yet onely by right of represalls and for restitution of the goods taken from the *French*.

War continued in *Piémont* all that while, till the winter of that yeare 1625, when the armies retired into garrisons. That winter *Du Fergis* the *French* *Emassadour* in *Spain* began a Treaty which was called the
Treaty

Treaty of Monson in Arragon, whereby without any Commission from his Master or his principall Minister of State; the *Cardinal de Richelieu* (as it was pretended) he did greatly derogate to the right of the *Grisons* over *Valtolina*, making the *Valtolins* well nigh Soveraines, taking from the *Grisons* all power to refuse the Iudges and that forme of Government which the *Valtolins* would set up among themselves. That Treaty was disavowed by *King Lewis* and the *Cardinal* who commanded the Embassadour to reforme it. Wherein so much tedious protraction was used, that *Lewis* was in the end constrained to take upon him the protection of the *Valtolins*, and sent them the *Duke of Rohan* who there continued the war, even after the rupture between the two Crownes.

In the yeare 1628 *Vincent the II. Duke of Mantua* being dead, *Charles Duke of Nevers* the next heire male succeeded; but the Emperour made some difficulty about it because he was borne in France, and because he did not come personally to him to render his homage. But besides his right of lapse for want of homage, he set up the right of *Duke Guastullo* of the same house of *Mantua*, which yet appeared at the first to be weake and of no force.

At the same time, the Duke of Savoy renewed his rights to *Montferrat*. So the new Duke of Mantua saw himselfe almost swallowed up by the Emperour, the Spaniard, and the Duke of Savoy. Yea *Don Gonzales de Cordova* besieged *Cazal*, the old apple of discord between the houses of Mantua and Savoy. King Lewis, resolved to maintaine his subject and confederate, sends *Beuron* and *Guron* to defend *Cazal*. Himselfe passeth into *Italie*, forceth *Le pas de Suze*, driveth the Spaniard from the siege of *Cazal*, and compelleth the Duke of Savoy to let the Mantuan be in peace.

The Protestants in France being in armes, *Rochel* besieged, and their party brought low, some say that the Duke of Rohan sent *Clausel* from *Montpellier* to *Madrid*, to put the Protestant party under the protection of the King of Spain. The History of *Dupleix* sets downe the whole Treaty betweene the King of Spain and the Duke of Rohan, whereby the Spaniard promiseth to assist Rohan with men and money. But Lewis returning victorious out of *Italie*, suddenly overcame the Protestant party, and forced them to receive peace. The Spaniard thought he might as lawfully assist the Protestants of France, as the French assisted those of Holland.

Whilst

Whilst *Lewis* was busy about the pacification of his owne State, the Duke of *Savoy* reneweth his pretence to *Montferrat*; the Emperour sends *Colatio* against the Duke of *Mantua*; and the *Marquesse of Spinola* besiegeth *Cazal*, but in vaine, being well defended by *Toiras*, since Marshal of France. *Lewis* repasseth into *Italie*, makes himselfe Master of *Savoy* and *Piemont*. The Imperial Army takes *Mantua*, but all is pacified by the Treaty of *Queyras* an. 1631. and the Duke of *Mantua* is settled in his Estate.

In that yeare 1631. *Mary* the *Queene Mother of France* retireth into *Flanders*. The next yeare 1632. the Duke of *Orleans* her sonne doth the like. Where getting some Dutch and German troopes he makes an in-
rode into France; and in the yeare 1633. he makes a Treaty with the Spaniard to enter into France with an Army. All this without absolute rupture betwixt the two Crownes; Onely the Spaniard fomented the divisions of the Royal house of France.

Gustavus Adolphus, King of *Sueden*, after a long war against *Poland* comes into *Germany* an. 1631. for the restitution of the Dukes of *Meckelburg* his kinsmen into their Estates, out of which the Emperour had expelled them, and to restore liberty to the Cities of *Germanie*. *Lewis* jealous of the greatness of

the house of *Austria*, and having causes enow to resent the wrongs offered to him by the Emperour, made a Covenant with the King of *Sueden* for the defence of their common friends opprest, the safety of the commerce upon the Sea, & the liberty of the States of the Empire. The King of *Sueden* promist the assistance of his armes and his person, and the King of France a *million of livres per annum*. Hence followed the great victories of *Gustavus*, till he was slaine at the battell of *Lutzen* in Novemb 1632.

An. 1634. the Duke of Orleans leaveth *Flanders* and returns to the King his brother.

III. Paragraphe.

From the Rupture of the peace till now.

These mutuall offences being accumulated, in the end brake into open war. It was declared by the French by a Herald in *Flanders* in May 1635. That declaration was grounded upon that old complaint, that the Spaniard aspires to the universal Monarchy of Europe, and to devoure all the Princes thereof, and because the Spaniard vexed the confederates of France with wars, but more particularly by reason of the imprisonment of the *Archbishop of Treves* who had put himselfe under the protection of King *Lewis*. To all the complaints of the French, the Spaniards

ards have their answers, and have enough on their part to complaine. Howsoever this war hath produced many great exploits on both sides, in Germany, in Italy, in Flanders, in Spaine. And though the fortune of war have alternative successes, yet France had hitherto the advantage of that bloody game, having stretcht her dominions beyond the *Rhine*, united *Lorraine* to the French Crowne, got many townes in *Flanders* and *Artois*, *Perpignan* and the County of *Roussillon*, and got a good footing in the Dutchy of *Milan*. Besides *Catalonia*, which hath submitted her self to the Sovereignty of France. The greatest losse of the Spaniard is that of *Portugal* by the practices of France, whereby the King of *Spain* hath lost *Brasill*, and the *East-Indies*.

AN



AN APPENDIX

To the foregoing DISCOURSE;

*Shewing the Dispute about the precedence
at the Councill of Trent, betweene
the Embassadors of France
and Spaine.*

IT is certaine, that before the formation of that great *Colossus* of the House of *Austria* about the year 1520. the Kings of *France* were acknowledged the first of Christendom next to the Emperours.

The pieces wherewith the greatnesse of *Spain* is made up, are Provinces most of them feudatary of the Empire, or of France, or of the Pope; all these lately gathered up. But France is of an ancient, entire, and independent greatnesse.

The Embassadours of *Charles* the V. had the precedence every where before those of
France,

France, because he was Emperour. But in the year 1555. when he resigned that quality of Emperour to his Brother, and his other qualities and states to his Son, perceiving that his Son wanting the quality of Emperour, could not keep that preheminance, he used this artifice. A little before his retirement from the world, he recalled from *Venice* his Embassador, *Francisco de Vargas*, who being an Embassador of the Empire, had a precedence before the French Embassador. Then after the resignation of his States, he sent the same *Vargas* to *Venice* again, as Embassadour for himselfe and his Son joyntly, although in effect *Charles* being devested of his dignities, *Vargas* was Embassadour of his Son onely, hoping thereby to deceive the *Venetians* and others, by sending the same man. *Vargas* demanded of the Senate of *Venice* the same precedence which he had before. To which *Dominique*, Bishop of *Lodeva*, Embassadour of *Henry* the II, of *France*, made opposition, representing to the Senate, that *Charles* was no more considerable in the world; that when the Embassadours of the Emperour *Ferdinand* should appear, he would yield to them; but that he would not yield to the Embassadour of *Philip*, but in all occasions of audience, ceremony, visits, and the like, he would take the first place, till the coming of the Imperial

periall Embassadors. The Senate fearing some ill issue of this dispute, gave order that the two Embassadours should not present themselves at the ceremonies of the Feast of *St Mark*; and so the matter remained undecided all the year 1557, by the irresolution of that Common-wealth, and the simplicity of the French Embassadour. But in the year 1558. *Francis de Novailles*, Bishop of *Acs*, having succeeded that of *Lodeva*, renewed the dispute, and the Embassadours of the Emperour *Ferdinand* being come, he demanded to be maintained in his Rights, and to have the first place after the Emperours Embassadour, and courageously took it before *Vargas*; who seeing that the policy of *Charles* (who dyed at the same time) took no effect, and that he was considered onely as Embassadour of *Philip*, began to extoll his Masters greatness, and number his States and Sovereignties which he possessed in farre greater number then the King of *France*. Saying that these customs of honour and precedence, must alter according to the time. That his Master was the greatest King of the world; farre more able to assist the Common-wealth with Arms, Men, and Money, then the King of *France*. The Bishop of *Acs* stoutly resisted him, and obtained of the Senate an Order whereby the precedence was adjudged unto him

him above the Embassadour of Spain. About which, when the Spaniard expostulated very earnestly, it was answered him, that the Commonwealth would not undertake to examine the greatnesse of their Majesties; but that they found in their Records, that in all Acts both publique and private, Ceremonies, Visits, and Audiences, the Embassadours of France had preceded those of Spain, and to that received custome they would keep. This answer offended *Philip*, who upon that called back his Embassadour. But *Micael Surriano*, the *Venetian* Embassadour in his Court, defended the decree of the Senate of *Venice*, and in some sort mitigated the displeasure of *Philip*, who yet in all occasions renewed that dispute.

His greatest effort was four years after in the Council of *Trent*. To understand the right of precedences of Ambassadours, we must know, that in the Council there was three sorts of Assemblies; particular Congregations, generall Congregations, and Sessions. In the private Congregations, the Doctors assisted with some Bishops, examined the questions of Faith and Reformation, and there no Ceremony of precedence was heeded. In the general Congregation all the Prelates assembled, the Legats were Presidents, every one kept his place of honour: It was a
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publique action where questions were resolved, the Legates propounded that which was to be examined in the particular Congregations; every Prelate had right to speak and to vote; Embassadors of Princes had audience after their Commission was examined, and that which was to be promulgated in the following Session was there concluded; Embassadors kept their place there according to their rank. The Session was the solemne day, upon which after a Mass of the Holy Ghost, and a Sermon of a Prelate, or some eminent man upon the matter in question; the Prelate officiating, pronounced with a loud voyce the Decrees resolved, which the Fathers approved with a *Placet*. In these Sessions, Embassadors had also their place of honour, and at the Mass: That honour was seen by the place where they sate, by the *Censer*, and by the *Pax*, which was given them in the time of the Mass. Now whereas this Council was held at three severall times, under there several Popes, *Paul* the III, *Jule* the III, and *Pius* the IV, In the time of *Paul* and *Jule*, *Charles* the V, was Emperour, whose Embassadors without contradiction sat above the French Embassadors, who in the sixteen first Sessions appeared very little, and no place was held there under the title of *Spain*. Yet some things hapned then which shewed the eminency of the
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the French Kings above all others, next to the Emperour. In the Bull of the Indiction of the Council *Paul* the III, dated an. 1542. the King of France is named after the Emperour in exprefs terms, and all the other Princes comprehended in one generall term, and that twice. Thus, *Charissimos in Christo filios nostros, Carolum Romanorum Imperatorem, & Christianissimum Regem Franciscum, duo præcipua Christiani nominis firmamenta atque fulcra orare atque obsecrare institimus.* A little lower. *Supra autem dictos, Imperatorem Regemque Christianissimum, nec non ceteros Reges, Duces, Principes quorum præsentia si aliàs unquam, hoc quidem tempore maxime, sanctissima Christi fidei & Christianorum futura est salutaris, rogantes atque obsecrantes per viscera misericordiae Dei, &c.*

In the beginning of the Council, an. 1545. Francis the I, had appointed for his Embassadors, *Claude D'Urfe Seneschal of Forests, Jacques de Liguieres, President in the third Chamber of Enquests in the Parliament of Paris, and the Deane, Peter Danes, since Bishop de la Vaur.* But being informed by some French Bishops that were at *Trent*, that there was little hope that the Council should do any good, he called back his Embassadors who did not appear in the Council. *Antony Filioly of Ganat, Archbishop of Aix in Provence* was there for the King who in the first Session, when publike prayers were

were made for the Princes, having required that the King of France should be named in expresse termes, as he had been named in the Bull of the Indiction, the Legats eluded that demand, and said, that the Fathers ought to be consulted about it, and none was prayed for in expresse termes but the Pope and the Emperour; all other Princes were comprehended in one generall term.

In the year 1546. Francis the I, sent his Embassadour Peter Danes, Bishop de la Vaur to the Council; At his reception, he made a fine speech, wherein he represented the State of Christendom, and the great disorders crept into the Church, even into the Court of Rome. At which when a certaine Bishop did laugh, saying, *Gallus Cantat*. Danes replied readily, *Utinam isto gallicinto, Petrus ad resipiscientiam & fletum excitetur*. An Apophthegm which afterwards was rise in the mouth of the Fathers of the Council.

An. 1547. when Paul the III, to avoid the plague & the war of Germany, would remove the Council from Trent to Bologna; the Legats consulting the Fathers about it, said that his Holiness approved of it, *Communicato etiam consilio cum Imperatore, Christianissimo Rege, & aliis Regibus ac principibus Christianis*, which is another expression of the honour which the Council did to the Kings of France.

But

But in the third Indiction of the Council under Pius the IV. *an.* 1561, in the Bull of the Indiction, Pius the IV, useth other words then Paulus the III, and Julius the III, had used before. Thus, *Charissimos verò in Christo filios nostros Romanorum Imperatorem electum, ceterosque Reges, & Principes quos optandum sanè esset Concilio interesse posse, hortamur & rogamus*, without any mention of the most Christian King. Philibert de la Bourdesiere, Bishop of Angoulesm, Embassadour of France, in the Popes Court expostulated with him by the Kings order for that neglect, with protestation that notwithstanding that neglect, he would not hinder the progress of the Council; yea, that he had commanded his Bishops to go to the Council. The Pope answered, that he had charged some Cardinals to form the Bull, and that they had not heeded that *Pointillo*; and that after they had named the Emperour, they had not judged it necessary to name all the Kings, but had comprehended them under one generall name. The Embassador replied, that it was a Prerogative of the Kings of France, not to be comprehended under a generall name. The Pope answered, that he could not foresee all things, and that another time order should be given, that the like error should not be committed.

In the year 1562, the 18. of May, *Lewis de Saint Gelais*, Lord de *Lansac*, came to *Trent*, and three dayes after, *Arnault Ferrier*, President of the Enquests of *Paris*, and *Guy du Faur de Pibrac*, chiefe Judge of *Tolosa*, sent by the King of *France*, who were received with great honour by the Council; yea great part of the Prelats subjects of the King of Spain went to meet them. But *Ferdinand de Avalo*, *Marquess of Pesquera*, Embassadour to King *Philip*, went out of *Trent* three dayes before, and retired to *Milan*, of which he was Governour, pretending a feare from the Protestants of *Daulphine* and the *Switzers*, but in effect to avoid meeting with the French Embassadors, who took their place in the general Congregation after the Imperiall Embassadors. *Pibrac* made a fine Oration, wherein he spake very freely against the disorders of the Church, the small progress of the Council in such a long time, and for the liberty of voting in the Council, which was not to be expected from *Rome*. He was seconded by the two other Embassadors, *Lansac* and *Ferrier*. The Pope complained of it, and said that the King of *France* had sent not Embassadors, but Advocates of the *Hugenots*. And indeed the ill opinion which the Fathers of the Council had of the beliefe of these three men was a cause why the Council and the Pope dealt with

with them with more rigor. In the meane while the French Bishops came to the Council, conducted by the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, who was most honourably received by the Cardinall of *Mantua*, and the other Legates.

Soon after the coming of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, *Philip* the II, having called back the Marquesse of *Pesquera*, sent to *Trent* another Embassador, *Ferdinand Quigones*, Count de *Luna*, who being gone to Germany before, to be present at the Coronation of *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, would know of the Fathers of the Council, what place they would give him. Upon which the Cardinall of *Mantua*, the first Legate, having consulted with the Embassadors of *France*, and the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, he propounded unto them this accommodation, that as for them they should keep their place next to the Embassadors of the Emperour, and that some other place might be found for the Count of *Luna*, over against the Legates on the other side, or after the Ecclesiastical Embassadors, or in some other place out of the bench of the Embassadors. To which the French answered, that they were sent by their King not to judge causes, or to decide of the Rights of King *Philip*, who was a good friend & brother in law to their King, *Charles* the IX: but if any would take their place,

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they were resolved to stand for it against all sorts of persons; which if the Council deniyed them, they had order to withdraw with all the French Prelates, and to protest of the nullity of the resolutions which should be taken in their absence. To which the *Legate* answered nothing. That declaration of the French, though generous, gave occasion to the affront which soon after was offered to them in the Council; for they are censured by posterity, for not requiring absolutely that the Spaniards should sit under them.

An. 1563. The Legates fearing some division between the French and Spanish Doctors about their order in speaking, gave order that without distinction of Nations, every one should speak according to his seniority of Doctorship. But because some among the French Divines had the seniority over the Spanish; these made great complaints to the Legate, pretending that this preference of the French, would be a prejudice against the dispute which the *Count de Luna* was forming against the French Embassadors. The Legats rebuked them, shewing that the Doctors, though sent by the Princes, did not represent their persons as the Embassadors did: and that the question was onely of the seniority of the degree, not of the preference of the Nations. Notwithstanding these satisfactory
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Reasons, the Spaniards were angry, and threatned the Councill of their Kings displeasure, who should take off his protection from them.

The French seeing that the Spaniard stood upon points in such a clear business, and that of Doctors they would make Embassadours, did obstinate themselves also to have the preference even in the disputes of the Divines. And because the Popes delegates spake first without contradiction, the French asked to be admitted to speak next after them, which the Legates were constrained to grant : and it was decreed, that after the *Jesuite Salmeron*, the Popes Divine *Nicolas Maillart* Dean of the faculty of *Paris*, should speak; and that after that, all should speak according to the seniority of their degree, which was followed. Yet to content the Spaniards, it was enacted in the Register of the Councill, that the French Doctor had spoken the first by the right of his seniority in the degree of Doctor, not by the preference of his Nation.

The same year 1563. upon Easter-day, the Count of *Luna* was received at *Trent*, and in his entry marched between the Embassadors of the Emperour, and of France. This Ceremony past with much honour and civility between the two Nations. And at the same time, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* writ to the Em-

perour *Ferdinand* (who was at *Innsprugh* in the County of *Tirol*, three dayes journey from *Trent*) upon divers affaires of the Councill: and in the end of the Letter, desired him to find some temper to lay down the dispute about the preference between the two Crowns, so that it might not appear in the Councill. But his Country-men blamed him for it, saying, that he ought not to have taken notice of a dispute so ill grounded: Or if he had spoken of it, it should not have been to have desired a temper, but to maintaine his Kings right. The Emperour answered him, that it belonged not to him to decide the disputes between the Kings of France and Spain; but since he had desired him to speak his sense about it, if your Embassadours (said he) maintaine their rank after mine, and that none take that place from them; what does it import you what place be assigned unto the Spaniards? A verdict ill taken by the *French*, who held it to be of a dangerous consequence. For in an order of sitting, who so leaveth his place (say they) is thought to despise it, and to ask a higher, which cannot be done without moving a dispute against those that sit in a higher seat.

The Count of *Luna* after that solemn entry, was hidden forty dayes, and appeared not in any ceremony of publique action, being in
great

great perplexity how to behave himself; sometimes he had a mind to enter into the assembly in the midst of the two Embassadors of the Emperor, who were enjoined to bear him company; and after they had taken their place, stand by them till his Commission had been verified by the Councill, and then retire to his house. But considering that this would not be a generous maintaining of his Masters honour, he made means that the *French* Embassadors should be desired not to appeare in the Assembly that day; which being denied him, he sent some Spanish Bishops to the Legates, to propound unto them, that the secular Embassadors of Princes, should not enter into the generall Congregations but the day of their reception, but should content themselves to be present at the Ceremony, the day of the Session, maintaining that it had been so observed in the Councells before. But all the Embassadors of Princes having opposed that motion, he could obtain nothing. Again, he caused some Bishops to propound some point to the Congregation, at the discussion whereof, the *French* ought not to be present as interessed parties; for example, to represent what damage would result to the whole Church by a peace of the King of *France* with the *Hugonots*, or some such thing. But all that being rejected, and the Congregation being

put off from day to day by his obstinacy; in the end that the businesses of the Councell might not be retarded: the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and the French Embassadors declared to the *Legates*, that if they might keep their place immediately after the Emperours Embassadors, they did not care what place the Embassador of *Spain* should take.

The *French* to this day exclaim against that action of the *Cardinal*, and the *French* Embassadors, saying that it was a great weaknesse, and that they had betrayed their Masters honour. Yea, the Fathers of the Councell disliked it. And when the *Cardinal de la Bourdesiere*, Resident for the King of France by the Pope, complained to him of that Spanish ambition, and novelty introduced against all ancient orders: the Pope (it was *Pius* the IV.) answered, that he should complaine to the French Embassadors, whose weakness he condemned, saying, that although he had been solicited before and after the entry of *Count de Luna* into *Trent*, to favour that designe he had remained constant and inflexible; and that he wondred how the French had so easily, yea so freely yielded.

The day of the Congregation being come, and each Embassador having taken his place, the *Count of Luna* enters, stands over against the *Legates*, somewhat far from the Embassadors

sadors seat, presents his Orders, and declares his Masters will. Then he protested, that although the first seat was due to him next to the imperiall Embassadors, as representing the greatest Prince of Christendome, the greatest Prop of the Church &c. yet that he should bring no confusion to the affaires of the Councell, he desisted from that right; upon condition that this his protestation should be inserted into the Acts of the Councell; so that they could not be printed, nor otherwise publisht without it; and that a Copy signed by the Legates should be given him by the Secretary of the Councill. Having said these words, he went to take his place appointed for him, near the Table of the Secretary of the Councell.

The French Ambassadors sitting by the Imperial, answered, that if it was thought that the place where they sat was not the most honourable next to that of the Emperour, as it had been acknowledged in all the Councell before, the last of which were that of *Constance*, and that of *Lateran*, under *Leo* the X; Or if the place assigned to *Count de Luna*, might be a prejudice against them, they desired the Councell to prevent it speedily by orders, commands, excommunications, or other wayes, practised in such a case without acception of persons. But because none an-

swered any thing, and the Imperial Embassadors connived to that novelty (although their interest was to hinder it, least their place should be once disputed) they added: That without injury to the honour of King *Philip*, and the alliance betweene the two Crowns, they protested against that proceeding as unjust, requiring that their protestation should be inserted in the Acts of the Council, and that a Copy of the same should be delivered unto them.

None of the Fathers spake one word upon these disputes. And the silence was broken by a Spanish Doctor called *Frontidon*, who made a Latin Oration in the name of *Count de Luna*, whereby he exalted the greatness of the King of Spain, his zeal towards the Church and Religion, with such impertinent words, & so much contempt of other Princes, that the Embassadors of the Emperour made great complaints about it to *Count de Luna*, who had no other shift to excuse it, than saying that the Oration had displeased him more than any.

The *Promoter* of the Councell having answered the Oration, suddenly the Embassador of Spain went out of the Assembly, not expecting the rising of the Legates, to avoid a dispute with the French, and the same he observed in the following Congregations,
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sitting by himself and going out alone.

But that Order could not be kept in the Church the day of the Session, because the manner of sitting there was not alike, and some more precise ceremonies were used about the preference, as that of the *pax*, and the *censer* at the Masse. Wherefore the *Legats* consulted the *Pope* before the Session, and he being won by the Spaniards, thinking that the French would again run into another weaknesse, writ to the *Legate* that in the Session they should assign a place apart to the Spaniard, and that the *pax* and the *censer* should be given to both the Ambassadors at the same time; but that the businesse should be kept secret till the point of the action, that the French might not storm at it.

The day of the Session being come, which was Saint *Peters* day, the 29. of *June*, after the Bishop of *Valdaosta* in *Savoy* had begun the Masse of the Holy Ghost, presently a Chair of black Velvet was brought out of the Vestry, which was placed between the last Cardinall and the first Patriarck, where *Count de Luna* late. The Cardinall of *Lorrain* with the French Ambassadors, made a great noise about it, and rose to withdraw, when at the same time they heard the order given about it, and for the *Censer* & the *Pax*. But for fear of troubling the action, they contented them-

themselves to protest against it, and to declare that their Masters right did not consist in the equality, but in the precedence. The Gospell being read whilst a Divine went up into the Pulpit to make a speech, the Legats with the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the other Cardinalls, the Ambassadour of the Emperour, and *Ferrier* one of the French Ambassadors went into the Vestry; into which they called the Archbishop of *Granada*, a Spaniard, and two French Bishops to find some accommodation. After many disputes, and many goings and commings and messages to *Luna*, it was concluded that the Masse should be ended without receiving the *Censer* and the *pax*. After which, *Luna* came out of the Church with his Spaniards triumphing for that first step so advantagious to his Master.

This action was very scandalous to the French; and the Legats not able to bear the envy of it, were constrained to produce the command which they had from *Rome* about it. The injury was more resented, because it was done to a King in his minority (it was *Charles* the IX.) and one that was afflicted with Hugonots, and entangled in a civill War. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* writ very smart letters to the Pope about it; yet without violating the respect due to him. But *Ferrier* a violent and stout man, cryed out every

very where, that unlesse at the next publique Mass the preference of the *Censer* and the *Pax* was given to his Master he would protest aloud, not against the Legats, who had obeyed the Popes Orders, nor against the Council, whose hands were manifestly bound, nor against King *Philip*, who took his advantage where he might, nor against the Roman Church, toward which he should never lose the due respect, but against the very person of the Pope, whom he would prove to have bought the pontificat, and would appeal from him to a lawfull Pope, and to a true and free Council. And that his Master would celebrate a Nationall Council, as numerous and as Generall at that of *Trent*. It is certain that *Ferrier* & *Pibrac* (for *Lansac* was returned into *France*) had prepared a most bloody speech against the Pope, and against that innovation. *Ferrier* was to pronounce it, and at the same time command all the French Bishops and Doctors to leave the Councell, with a promise to return whensoever God had given a lawfull Pope to his Church, and restored to the Councils their antient and full liberty. The speech was printed, but not pronounced. *Ferrier* spread it among the Fathers, because *Count de Luna* boasted that the Legats had promist him that at the first Mass hee should be admitted to the equality of the *Pax* and *Censer*.
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The Legates fearing , lest this quarrell should come to some sad issue , because the Ambassadour of *Poland* declared, that if the King of *France* should depart from the obedience of the Council , the King of *Poland* would soon do the like , and many other Princes; The Legates I say, and the wisest of the Council, especially *Madruvio, Cardinal of Trent*, of the Imperial party, thought it expedient that thereafter publique Masses should be said without the *Pax* and the *Censur* , and made *Count de Luna* approve of it. And the King of *Spain* hearing all this proceeding , thought he had got a great advantage. But the Pope lost by it, for the affront done to the French in that Council hindred the publication of it in *France*.

Shortly after, the *Cardinal of Lorrain* retired to *Rome* , and *Ferrier* declaimed in a general Congregation against abuses and disorders crept into the Church , and spared no body. The Pope was much displeased at it , and to allay that heat, sent the *Cardinal of Lorrain* to *Rome* with full authority to regulate all with the Legats. He was present at the 24th Session held *November 11. 1563.* which is of the Sacrament of marriage. And having received order from *France* to return without delay with all the French Bishops , the Legates hastened to make an end of the Council ,
and

and held the 25th Session which was the last upon the 3d. and 4th. of *December*, in which Session, as in the precedent, the Ambassadors kept their place. *Luna* sat by the Secretary of the Council. In the publique Masses neither *Pax* nor *Censer* was used. So the Council of *Trent* ended the 4th. of *Decem.* 1563. & the Cardinal *Moron*, at that time the first President, giving his blessing to the Fathers, told them *Post gratias Deo actas Reverendissimi Patres, Ite in pace.* And all answered, *Amen.*

But because it was the custom at the end of the Council, to make acclamations to bless the Popes that had assembled it, the Fathers that had held it, and the Princes that had assisted it, and protected the Church; the Cardinall of *Lorrain* took himself the care to make them, and to pronounce them also; Which he was blamed for, as taking upon him that care which less becoming his Eminency, and more fitting for Deacons, Promotors, Secretaries, and Masters of Ceremonies. Especially he was blamed because in the acclamation made for the secular Princes, he forgot to name expressly the King of *France*, which had been observed in the Bull of the Indiction, as we said before, and the omission whereof in the calling again of the Council by *Pius the IV*, had caused so much discontent and expostulation. Of this the

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Cardinal could not be ignorant, nor pretend forgetfullnesse; since thole acclamations were meditated and written down.

There was two acclamations, the first for the memory of the dead, in which the Cardinal forgot to expresse the names of *Francis the I. and Henry the II*, who had contributed their care and their zeal for the good of the Council. The second was for the Princes living, where he forgot *Charles the IX*, who had sent his Ambassadours & his Bishopsto *Trent*. So he forgot both the dead and the living. That omission was objected to the Cardinal in the Kings Council. He excused himself upon the fear he had to make a division between the two Crowns, King *Charles* being yet in minority, in danger of a civil War, and of the disorder which *Germany* was fallen into upon the quarrell of Religion; Whereby the King might have need of *Philip*, whom therefore he would not provoke or incense against *France*.

Thus that weakness which the Cardinal and the French Ambassadours shewed in the Congregations, Sessions, and Acclamations, having not with vigour enough defended the right of their Masters, was defended by them with plausible reasons; but, in effect, they opened the gate to the pretences which the Spaniards form at every meeting of publique

lique Assemblies, Processions, and Ceremonies, against the French Ambassadors, who hitherto have stoutly defended their right. At least they have kept the two essential points of precedence, which are; first, never to have left their place, either second, when the Ambassadors of the Pope and the Emperour were present, or first, when they were absent. The other, never to have suffered or done any action which may be interpreted to give an equality to the Spaniard with them. As for the order of sitting, which should oblige the Spaniard to sit under the French, one can not take him by the hand to bring him to an Assembly when he pretends sicknesse or businesse. But if he appear in a publique meeting, the French suffers him not to use any action either of preference or equality.

Since the Councell of *Trent*, the most famous meeting of the two Kings in the persons of their Ambassadors, or rather the only, was that of *Vervins*, an. 1598. where the French had the precedence, as we shewed before.

FINIS.

the Council of 1545, the most famous of the two things in the history of the Church, or rather the history of the world, where, as we have seen, had the precedence, and Cardinal